THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Geological Expedition which was announced in the October number of the *Quarterly Statement* has been successfully despatched. Professor Hull took leave of the Committee on the 18th October, and started on the 19th, accompanied by his son, Dr. Gordon Hull, and by two volunteers, Mr. Henry Hart and Mr. Reginald Lawrence. The services of Mr. George Armstrong, who has been employed in the Survey of both Eastern and Western Palestine, were secured, and he followed the party by way of Southampton and Gibraltar, Professor Hull going by way of Venice. At Cairo they were joined by Captain Kitchener, R.E. The arrangements for the expedition were entrusted to Messrs. Cook & Son. Everything was found ready on the arrival of the party: they left Suez on November 10th, and Ayun Musa on the 11th.

It was impossible to receive any intelligence from them for some weeks; that is to say, until they should be near enough to Jerusalem to send a message. The disastrous news from the Soudan, and Suakim, which would probably be learned by the Sinai tribes very quickly, caused some anxiety, lest there should be an outbreak of fanaticism. It was therefore with great satisfaction that a telegram was received on December 19th, to the effect that the party were quite safe within thirty miles of the Dead Sea, and that the expedition so far had been perfectly successful. This is, at present, all that is known.

It is, however, now clear that the estimate of the cost, to include the publication of results, set down in the October number of the *Quarterly Statement* at £2,000, was a good deal under the mark. As the whole of this amount will have to be met in the early part of the year, subscribers are entreated to forward their subscriptions as soon as possible. As in all previous expeditions, it is hoped to present a popular report of the whole in the *Quarterly Statement*, reserving the scientific part, which will probably prove voluminous, for separate publication.

NOTES TO ACCOMPANY A MAP OF THE LATE REV. F. W. HOLLAND'S JOURNEY FROM NUKHL TO 'AIN KADEIS, JEBEL MAGRAH, AND ISMAILIA.

The following brief account of a portion of the Rev. F. W. Holland's last journey in the desert has been compiled from his field notes, which have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mrs. Holland. The journey was a remarkable one ; it was boldly conceived, and no less boldly carried to a successful issue. To those who did not know the man, his extraordinary powers of endurance, his firmness and earnestness of purpose, and his power of winning the confidence of the Bedawin, the feat which he performed must seem almost incredible. I have rarely met any one who possessed in so high a degree those sterling qualities which win not only the respect, but the esteem of savage races. Khawaja Hulhul, as he was familiarly called, was a welcome guest in every Arab tent, and it will be many years before he is forgotten by the wild children of the desert whose good qualities he had learned to appreciate during his solitary wanderings in the peninsula of Sinai.

Leaving Evesham on the 21st March, 1878, Mr. Holland reached Suez on the 29th. The 30th was occupied by an excursion to the Bitter Lakes, and on the 31st he started into the desert with only three Arabs and three camels. Mr. Holland dressed and travelled as a European ; there was no attempt at concealment ; he relied entirely on his knowledge of Bedawi life and character, and the trust which he reposed in his companions was fully justified by the result. How far he had succeeded in winning the love of his guides is shown by a little incident that occurred shortly before reaching Nukhl. The camels had been sent forward to get water from the fort, and Mr. Holland was alone with Sheikh Nassar in the desert ; the thermometer stood at 102 degrees in the shade, and the Sheikh's eyes were growing dim with the feverishness that comes of intense thirst, yet nothing could induce him to touch the scanty store of water which he was carrying for Mr. Holland ; nor was Sheikh Nassar alone in this respect, for whenever any difficulties arose about food or water, the three Bedawin always insisted on reserving what there was for their European companion.

Mr. Holland returned to Ismailia on the 23rd May, after an absence of fifty-three days, during which he travelled over 1,000 miles on foot—an average of twenty miles a day, excluding halts ; and visited a district which had never previously been explored, and which, from the character of its inhabitants, had been deemed almost inaccessible. The journey had been planned long beforehand. Mr. Holland, in conversation with myself, had often expressed his belief that the Israelites must have left Sinai by a route followed in 1840 by Baron Koller, of which there is a short notice in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1842 ; and that

Kadesh was probably near the south-east corner of Jebel Magrah, whence, he assumed, there would be a good road, "the way of the spies," northwards. It was not, however, until 1878 that he was able to carry out his plans. His journey has established, beyond a doubt, that Baron Koller's route offers an extremely easy road to the Tih plateau, such as might have been followed by the Israelites with their women and children, their flocks, and their waggons. Unfortunately, the presence of raiding parties of hostile Bedawin prevented a complete examination of the southern edge of J. Magrah, but Mr. Holland ascertained that that mountain did not extend as far eastward as was generally supposed; and that an easy road, such as he had expected to find, led northwards, between Jebels Magrah and Jerâfeh to the broad caravan road, followed from the north by Palmer and Drake. There are several indications in the Bible which would lead us to believe that Kadesh was at the south-east corner of J. Magrah, but, for the present, it will be safer to adopt Mr. Holland's opinion, that if Kadesh-Barnea be not at W. Kadeis, it may probably be placed near the south-east base of J. Magrah, in Râs W. Garaiyeh. Besides the two important points alluded to above, Mr. Holland determined the true course of W. el Arish, which passes through a remarkable gorge in J. Helal; and the drainage system of J. Magrah, which sends part of its waters northwards by W. Harâsheh to W. Hanein, and part westwards to W. Lussân. He also discovered the important alluvial plain east of J. Helal, and, on his return journey to Ismailia, followed an old road, previously unknown, which is, in all probability, the way of Shur, by which Abraham went down into Egypt.

The only account of Mr. Holland's journey is contained in a paper read before the Dublin meeting of the British Association in 1878, and printed in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1879. It was always his intention to prepare a fuller narrative, with a map, but, unfortunately, he was "called away" before the work was even commenced. The map which accompanies these notes has been prepared from the rough field books; and the valuable sketches of the great plain of W. Jaifeh, at the mouth of W. Kadeis, and of the pass between Jebels Magrah and Jerâfeh, have been faithfully reproduced from the original drawings by Mr. Johnson, of the Ordnance Survey. The first weeks of Mr. Holland's journey were devoted to explorations in the peninsula of Sinai and to an examination of the passes leading to the Tih plateau, including Baron Koller's route; but as this district is now being surveyed by Captain Kitchener, R.E., I have thought it better to confine the present extracts from the journal to the journey north of Nukhl.

Extracts from Field Book.

May 6th, 1878.—Left camp in W. Tureifeh at 8.40 A.M., and at 9 A.M. crossed over some low chalky "jorfs,"[1] 100 yards wide, to W. el Arish; 9.30, course north-east, down W. el Arish; the actual bed of the wâdy is

[1] Jorfs are banks of alluvial deposit.

small, but it appears to spread its waters over at least half a mile; passed some low chalk hills, weathered into peaks like tents. 10.20. Passed about half a mile west of the Castle of Nukhl; W. el Arish is here a large, barren plain, with no trees. 12.15. Low hill to the west, Motalla el Nukhl; alluvial plain. 1 P.M. Halt at junction of W. Rawâg with W. el Arish; several "nawâmis."[1] 3.30 P.M. Started, and in ten minutes enter a tract of many acres, ploughed by the Arabs, to be sown with corn after rain; the alluvial plain is now more than a mile across. 5.5 P.M. Camp for the night in the narrow bed of the wâdy, about 8 feet deep and rocky in places; it is greener than the alluvial plain, which is so scored by watercourses as to be very bad ground for travelling.

May 7th.—Start at 6.10 A.M., and in twenty minutes reach a tract of 40 to 50 acres ploughed for sowing; jorfs in W. el Arish 15 feet high. 8.30. Nuggah el Agâbah; the alluvial plain is called Nuggah el Arish; these two nuggahs are probably Palmer's Wâdies Abu Jize, a name which my Arabs do not know. 9.0. Wâdy Agâbah; halt to visit "nawâmis" on a hill; they are evidently old tombs, a circle of stones with a cairn in the centre; I counted about thirty, scattered over a large area. On the hill-top were hundreds of snail shells and a quantity of lichen. A desert bird, "Mecky," seen here which, sitting on the top of a bush, begins a song like the low notes of a nightingale, and then suddenly springing up into the air, about 30 feet, and spreading out its wings, descends vertically with a succession of quick sharp notes. Wâdy el Arish runs north of J. Yeleg, not south as in Palmer's map. 12.30 p.m. Continued journey; 1.40 reach north end of the alluvial plain we had entered after crossing W. Agâbah; after ascending a flinty slope for about half a mile, we entered upon another plain, not alluvial, which seems to extend westward right up to J. Yeleg; this mountain runs north-east, and has its highest peak in the centre; it runs gradually out north-east and south-west, and must be quite twenty-five miles long. 2.30. Reach Nukb el Fahdi; from this point there is a magnificent view of the country north-east, and at our feet was a large plain bounded on the north by J. Ikhrimm, which runs west and east, about three miles distant. 4.0. Crossed the bed of W. el Fahdi, in which there was much broom; the road here has as many as twenty parallel tracks. 4.35. A large wâdy, "Emshâsh," runs in on the right from some white mountains to the south-south-east. 5.13. Camp in W. el Fahdi. J. Ikhrimm is composed of granite, sandstone, and limestone; the upper bed with flint bands. There are two small "Sayal" trees in W. el Fahdi, below the mountain, and hence probably was derived the wood seen by Palmer in the buildings at Contellet Garaiyeh. The "Sayal" (acacia) appears to grow only in granite and sandstone districts, and it is curious to find then here in conjunction with an outbreak of these rocks. The strata at the north-east end of J. Ikhrimm have a dip of about 30 degrees to the east. The continuation of the El Fahdi cliffs, eastward to Palmer's cliffs

[1] The stone houses and circles so common in the Sinaitic peninsula, and the desert, are called nawâmis by the Bedawin.

400 feet high in W. Garaiyeh, could be clearly traced in the morning and evening lights.

May 8th.—Start at 6.15 A.M. ; and at 7.10 reach Palmer's "battlefield" ; W. Dométeh runs in from south-east, the wâdy north of J. Ikhrimm is called Hashan el Ikhrimm ; further north is a large rolling plain; the Arabs say Jebels Helal and Yeleg are, like J. Ikhrimm, of granite ; their appearance confirms this. 7.45. Turned north-north-east across the plain ; W. el Fahdi runs off to the north. 9.0. Alluvial plain of W. Garaiyeh. 9.40. Reach the other side of the alluvial plain ; there is no regular watercourse ; W. el Hamr flows in higher up from the north-east ; the junction with W. el Fahdi is about a mile lower down. Palmer's J. Umm Hesairah is much exaggerated on his map ; it is a low hill. Passing through a line of very low hills, or rather mounds, which bound W. Garaiyeh on the north, we entered another large plain, El Kaa esh Sheraif. 12.25 P.M. Halt. 1.45. Continue journey over a gravelly plain ; my Arabs did not know the name W. Máyîn. 3.30. Head of pass over J. Sheraif, a long low range, which sweeps round in a semi-circle, the chord being north-north-west and east-south-east. It is formed by the sudden uptilting of the strata, and stretches eastward almost to J. Hamr. We lose from here the lines of the watercourses ; the eye is carried over them, and a vast plain appears to stretch southwards to Nukb el Fahdi, J. Ikhrimm, and J. Helal. The north side of J. Sheraif presents a line of more or less precipitous cliffs. The pass is narrow, up the bed of a small wâdy, and takes about half-an-hour to cross ; we turned down a small wâdy when half-way through, and came out on the plain nearer J. Helal, to which we turned. 4.50. Reach a large bed of alluvium. 5.30. Camped near some Arabs in the bed of W. Utvâdif, in the middle of the plain.

May 9th.—Started at 6.15, across an alluvial plain, towards J. Helal for water ; on the plain were some fig-trees, young palms, and the "Hamârt," which has a leaf something like the tamarisk, and a fig-like fruit ; there were also Doura, and the stubble of old crops. 7.15. W. Hathîrah is the name given here to W. el Arish. 8.15. Halted while Zeid went for water to J. Helal ; he returned at 2.15 P.M. with excellent water. The watering-place is called "El Hathîrah" ; there are five bad wells and one good one, which is very deep. There were many Arabs and camels at the wells watering, and we had to pay for water[1] (comp. Numbers xx, 19). El Hathîrah appears as a recess or basin between J. Helal and a lower range in front of it. 2.45. Started again across the plain towards J. Meraifig, and at 3.55 reach the edge of the alluvial plain, with its maze of ridges and furrows ; in wet weather it must be quite impassable. 4.40. Struck the "Siccet esh Sham" (road to Syria), and at 4.50 camped on the plain. A herd of gazelle and flock of sandgrouse, "Guttah," were seen during the day, and small whirlwinds were frequent.

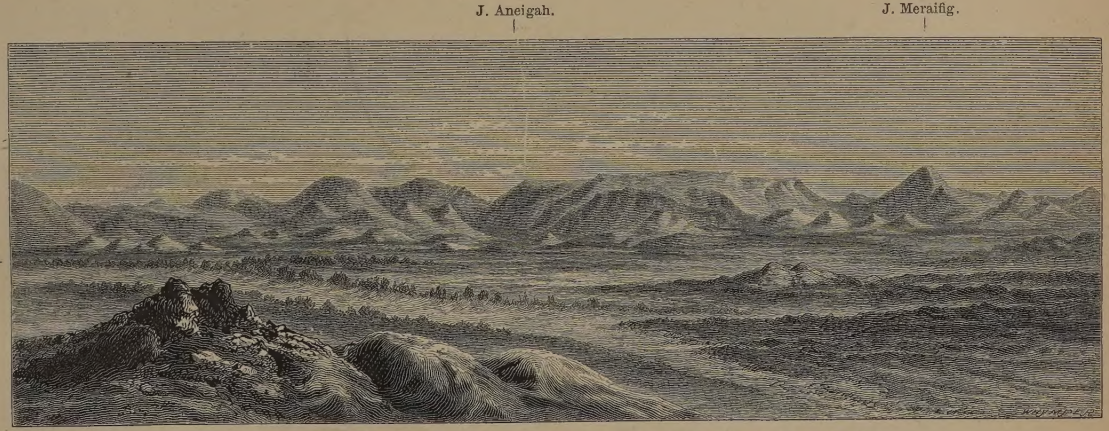
May 10th.—At 6.15 A.M. started north-east across plain ; low flat-topped hills scattered here and there show a former higher level ; large

[1] Mr. Holland proposed to identify El Hathîrah with "Hezron which is Hazor" (Josh. xv, 25).

quantities of lichen on the small stones. 7.20. Sherâfeh, a pass over low hills; there has been a gradual rise for the last half-hour; we now descend to the plain of W. Jerûr. 7.50. W. Jerûr runs north-north-west; the ground rises to the right of us and breaks into a low cliff on the east side, about a mile off. The name of the cleft through which W. el Arish runs is Er Râgah J. Helal. 9.15 halt in W. Saisab; 12.55 start down W. Saisab. 1.30. W. Mimbutter, a broad shallow wâdy with alluvium; cross some rising ground to a large plain, with much broom, extending apparently up to J. Magrah. 2.35. After crossing, for half-an-hour, a rolling plain, with several small wâdies running to W. Moweilah, we entered that wâdy near a small burial-ground; here we met several Tiyâhah with fifty camels, which were feeding on the "Turfa," of which there is much in the wâdy. 4.0 P.M. Camp near a small cave, and close to a burial-ground with the tomb of a Sheikh, in whose honour we had sugar in our coffee, and repeated the first chapter of the Koran.

May 11th.—At 6 A.M., started east up W. Guseimeh. W. Moweilah turns east and forms an uneven basin about one mile in diameter; the principal watering-place, in the centre, consists of a stream and three or four shallow wells with troughs. There is evidently much water here; another large bed of rushes and damp sand marks the bed of a stream behind our tent. 7.30, unloaded camels in W. Guseimeh, and started up W. el 'Ain with Zeid. Great beds of rushes betoken the presence of water, and we had to pick our way through them on account of small streams. Above are numerous water-holes, and many camels were being watered. We stopped and had a talk with Tiyâhah Arabs, who said that J. Magrah was in the country of the Haiwât, of which tribe there was an encampment close at hand. We consequently returned to Nassar with two of the Arabs to talk over matters, and decided to load at once and go on to the Haiwât. There were great numbers of flint flakes all the way from W. Moweilah, and traces of old encampments. 9.15 started, and in thirty-five minutes reached the Haiwât tents in the middle of the plain at the head of W. Guseimeh; I was most hospitably received by the Sheikh, and after dinner agreed with him for an escort to J. Magrah. On a hill between W. el 'Ain and W. Jaifeh, there are many round tombs and stone circles; the wâdy is scattered with flint flakes and broken pottery. Below the mouth of W. el 'Ain there is a large level plain, forming the head of W. Guseimeh; W. Sabh is a branch of W. Moweilah; large numbers of sandgrouse seen.

May 12th.—Went with Selim up W. Guseimeh and W. el 'Ain; the latter must overflow at times into the former, the head of which is a flat slope, used formerly for sowing corn, for which it is admirably suited, W. el 'Ain, after leaving the hills, sweeps round three groups of low hills in the plain of Guseimeh, and runs into W. Moweilah; low mountains bound the plain on the north, running round in a semi-circle from J. Moweilah to J. Sabh; there is a higher mountain behind the hills north of the Moweilah basin. The lower part of W. el 'Ain, before it enters the plain, is about a quarter of a mile wide; the usual bed runs on the north side; on the south is a thick bed of alluvial deposit, with many



A. Johnson, dell.

WADY KADEIS AND WADY JAIFEH. (*From a sketch by the late Rev. F. W. Holland, May 13th, 1878.*)

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rocks and boulders, which was in old days terraced for corn. In the centre, about half a mile up, is a rocky bit of ground covered with old tombs; Selim remarked that there must have been giants in those days, many of the stones used are so large. Higher up, W. el 'Ain branches, the main branch coming down from J Towâl el Fahm. The bed of W. el 'Ain rises rather rapidly as one ascends, but there is a good path up to the point where it branches: above this it narrows, but there is still alluvium on the south side. A mile higher up there are large beds of rushes, a pretty sure sign of water. The mountains seem everywhere to have stone ruins, usually, but not always, round, upon them; and flakes of flint are found near them. There is abundance of pasturage, both on the mountains, which abound with paths, and also in the plains. Between J. Magrah and J. Towâl el Fahm there is a large plateau on the same level as the hills north of W. el 'Ain, from six to ten miles across. A sandgrouse with nine young ones seen in W. el 'Ain; and nests found on the hills.

May 13th.—At 5.40 A.M. started south over a low pass.[1] 6.30. W. Jaifeh, several old tombs. 8.45. Stopped to kill a goat; a large "Gôm" (raiding party) of Maazi Badawin, two hundred camels strong, reported near J. Ikhrimm yesterday; the Arabs are afraid, and I cannot get them to go further to-day; they say the "Gôm" will go on during the night. The Haiwât Sheikh does not know the name of W. Gaiser (on Palmer's map); he calls the whole of this plain W. Jaifeh, though he gives the name of W. Dammath to the small wâdy we have followed. There is another W. Dammath, he says, near W. Sabh (this is given by Palmer). Walked to the mouth of W. Kadeis; the ground to the north-west of the mouth is broken by low hills; the wâdy is a good-sized one, and runs straight out into the plain; there are terraces for gardens and ruins near the mouth. There is a well in W. Jaifeh called Umm Sêigût.

May 14th.—Started at 5 A.M., and at 5.15 A.M. reached the mouth of W. Kadeis, quarter of a mile broad; course east up W. Kadeis. 5.50. 'Ain Kadeis just above a turn in the wâdy, where it becomes narrower. There are three springs, two on the hill-side, and one in the bed of the wâdy; from the lower spring on the hill-side a good stream of water flows for about 100 yards down the wâdy, forming pools at which the goats are watered; the camels go to the spring. The upper spring on the hill-side is a poor one now; it is built round with large rough stones to a depth of 5 feet, and there is a rude stone trough here and at the lowest spring. The three springs are not more than 40 yards apart. The wâdy, which is stony throughout, has a bed, below the springs, nearly 15 feet deep, between stony jorfs. As one ascends, the mountains become lower and less steep; there is much pasturage on them; the lower strata are chalk, with flints; the upper, hard limestone (nummulitic?); large masses have fallen down and lie in the valley. There are a few fig-trees and a bed of coarse grass. About 50 yards higher up the wâdy than 'Ain Kadeis there is a deeper well with four old watering-places; there are also traces of others near. 6.50. Start south-east up wâdy; terraces and ruins on hill-side. 7.0. The

[1] See sketch from this point.

main branch of wâdy turns north-east and winds round to east; we keep south-east up a very narrow, steep, and rocky wâdy. 7.10. A Butmeh tree; the wâdy forks; we take left branch; a rapid ascent by a fair mountain path; meet goats and camels with women, all carrying spindles, and a girl with a nose ring. 7.30. Nummulites in crystalline limestone. 8.0. Four Arab tents; the path on the mountain side above the wâdy; steep sloping mountains, with flat rounded tops; the strata horizontal. 8.40. A Butmeh tree; the wâdy forks again; we ascend the shoulder between the two, and a sharp walk brought us to the top of the pass. 9.0. Head of W. Haroof, which runs east-north-east to W. Harâsheh. 9.30. Start down W. Haroof, and at 10.0 reach Arab tents and halt. Some of the Arabs had been fighting the Maazi "Gôm" yesterday; two Haiwât killed; and seven wounded; three Maazi killed. The Haiwât had gone down from W. Magrah to W. Garaiyeh, with twenty camels, to prepare ground for corn, when the "Gôm" came upon them and carried off their camels. There have been three Maazi "Gôms" lately; the first took nothing; the second was yesterday; the third is still in the country below Nukhl. J. Magrah consists of rounded hills covered with herbage; the rocks consist of very thin beds, less than 1 foot, of hard limestone, which, lying horizontally, give the mountain the appearance of having been built up in courses. 2.0. Start down W. Haroof. 2.12. Turn south-east up W. Harâsheh, which runs on eastwards; Butmeh trees and corn ground. 2.44. The wâdy forks, and the country becomes rather more open; the Arabs stopped here, as there were no tents further on. Ascended a mountain on the east with one of the Haiyât; the mountains round appear flat-topped from a height. W. Harâsheh seems to drain the whole of J. Magrah, and runs into W. Hanein, round the east end of J. Towâl el Fahm.

May 15*th*.—At 4.20 A.M. started south-south-east up W. Harâsheh; an open basin with Butmeh trees. 6.5. Halt at Arab tents; many flint flakes about, and "nawâmis" on hills near. 6.20. Continue on, east, along mountain top; patches of corn, and purple and yellow cistus. 6.55. J. Araif bears south-west six miles; W. Lussân runs up into J. Magrah from J. Araif. 7.5. Cross the head of a wâdy running south to W. Lussân; massive terraces and hundreds of flint flakes. 7.30. Another wâdy running south to W. Lussân. 7.40. Descend head of wâdy running south-east to W. Lussân. 8.40. Halt in W. Lussân. 10.45. Start, with two Arabs, south-east, up a branch of W. Lussân, and over the mountains. 11.30. Reach mountain over the head of W. Jerâfeh.[1] W. Jerâfeh runs between J. Araif el Retedj and J. Jerâfeh; it rises between J. Araif and J. Magrah, and flows south through a narrow pass between low hills; it then sweeps round to the east, draining a hilly basin under J. Jerâfeh, which appears from this point to be a triangular block. W. Garaiyeh rises between J. Jerâfeh and J. Magrah, and appears as a flat plain or basin half a mile broad. There is a good road this way across to the Arabah frequented by "Gôms." A long line of cliffs runs east-north-east, and west-south-west, and forms the boundary of J. Magrah at this

[1] See sketch of Pass between J. Jerâfeh and J. Magrah.

A. Johnson, delt.

PASS BETWEEN JEBELS MAGRAH AND JERÂFEH. (*From a sketch by the late Rev. F. W. Holland.*)

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point. W. es Sîk heads with a branch of W. Jerâfeh running east-north-east under J. Magrah. The mountains north-east of J. Magrah are called J. Ramân ; W. Ramân rises about half a mile north of this point and runs east. A very large wâdy, or plain, W. Jehâmi, runs into W. Garaiyeh ; it is bounded on the south-west by a line of white cliffs ; is this Palmer's W. Ghamr? It took forty-eight minutes to rejoin the camels in the branch of W. Lussân. Hearing some Arabs were near we turned and went up the hill-side by a very steep path for camels ; on reaching the top we saw a good-sized valley running west with an Arab camp, at which we halted, about a mile and a half down. Cistus, hollyhock, and sandgrouse in the wâdy.

May 16th.—Started at 4.30 A.M. down W. Lussân, course west. 5.40. Left camels and walked south-west up a side wâdy ; five minutes lower down a large wâdy runs into W. Lussân from the north-east. 6.20. Reach mountain east of W. Lussân. There is no valley between W. Lussân and W. Garaiyeh ; there is a higher range to the south-east, beyond which lies W. Garaiyeh ; the lower mountains appear to run down from this to J. Araif. W. Garaiyeh is bounded on the south by a line of cliffs and groups of white hills. W. Lussân drains a large district of J. Magrah ; it is very broad below this, but narrows at the bend near J. Araif. The west was enveloped with mist, which gradually lifted. 8.0. Rejoined the camels, which had kept down W. Lussân, at an Arab camp near the mouth of W. Haroof (No. 2). 11.45. Started up W. Haroof (No. 2). 12.25. Reached the head of the pass. 1.5. Halt at a watering-place, "Umm Seiyer," a hole under a limestone cliff, with a slope of dung down to it. 1.30. Start and reach the bottom of the pass in about a quarter an hour ; then travel north-north-west across a plain with extensive alluvial deposits. 5.15. Halt in the bed of W. Dammath. There is no road except one pass between J. Magrah and J. Meraifig.

May 17th.—Started 4.10 A.M., and at 4.35 reached the end of the plain. 5.20. W. Guseimeh ; east of W. Moweilah, the ground slopes up from W. Guseimeh to the edge of the cliff on the W. Jaifeh side. 5.30. Halt at Guseimeh watering-place ; the water-holes were now full of good water. 6.5. Continued on through chalk hills in the centre of the wâdy. 6.35. End of central group of hills. 6.55. The bed of W. el 'Ain sweeps round to the left round a second and smaller group of hills. 7.20. Crossed W. Arêeshy, which has a large alluvial deposit. 7.30. Halt at an Arab camp. 2.10. Start for Ismailia. 3.15. 'Ain Moweilah. 3.55. Start down W. Moweilah. 4.35. A burial-place at the bottom of W. Moweilah ; met an Arab who inquired after Palmer and Drake. 5.15. Halt. We had a heavy shower and a grand rainbow at sunset ; heavy storms seemed going on northwards all the afternoon. Some Towârah Arabs camped with us.

May 18th.—4.30. A.M. Started west over alluvial deposits. 5.45. Turned south-west across W. Moweilah. 6.45. W. el Arish runs through the gap in J. Helal about three miles north-north-west of us ; we appear now half-way between the south points of Jebels Helal and Moweilah.

There is no wâdy north of W. el Arish, only a plain between J. Moweilah and W. el Arish. 7.10. W. Mimbutter (?), a bed of alluvium, which took twelve minutes to cross, runs down from W. Meraifig. 7.27. W. el Arish; a large alluvial plain, ridge and furrow, covered with "Ajeram." 8.10. Reached west side of W. el Arish, and most glad to do so; the main body of the wâdy is on the west side, and is marked by a line of "turfa." 10.5. Started west up a hard gravel slope. J. Helal is of sandstone resting on granite, with long, low, outlying hills of chalk. 10.40. W. Hathîreh, full of broom "retem." 11.30. Reach other side of W. Hathîreh, and travel across a stony plain sloping to W. el Arish. 12.0. Rolling flinty chalk hills. 12.30. Descend to the head of a plain and wind round head of chalk hills. 12.40. Steep ascent for ten minutes to the top of a chalk hill. 12.50. Descend into plain. 1.25. A low pass. over chalk hills, covered with sand, into a large plain. To the south is J. Thurgah beta Garaiyeh, a continuation of J. Sheiger, sandstone, running east and west. 2.45. W. el Mitmûthang on left, runs south-south-east to W. el Arish; beyond it is a large plain covered with herbage. We ascend a bank from the sandy plain to a stony plateau. 3.30. Halt near an Arab camp under J. Helal.

May 19th.—Start at 3.20 A.M. up a gentle slope. 3.50. Water-parting. 4.35. West point of J. Helal, which gradually runs out north-north-west, distant four miles. We have kept parallel to J. Helal since leaving W. el Arish. There are no chalk hills at this end, or where there are wâdies, as at Hathîrah. 5.5. J. Mugrah Helbush, a low granite hill one mile north-west J. el Ubragîn, a high granite range, distant about twelve or fifteen miles beyond the west point of J. Helal, chalk hill, parallel to the road, which runs over a level plain with occasional sand, and not much herbage, it drains north-west. 5.35. Cross a low water-parting. 6.0. Gentle descent to a large rolling chalky plain. 6.45. Large sand drifts. 7.0. Halt in W. Maghârah. 7.30. Continue journey, and at 8.15 cross a low water-parting; a line of chalk hills on the right, running north-north-west. 8.30. A low pass through a range of chalk hills running north and south. 8.45. Halted in W. el Hasanah (Azmon?) near a well. There are three wells sunk in the wâdy bed, but the water is bad, and only fit for camels; they are only built round at the top, and have curious round troughs as if made out of old columns; the water from a "seil" in the wâdy is good. W. el Hasanah is a large wâdy running east-north-east; it forks just above the wells. From this point, roads go to Nukhl, Suez, and Ismailia. 11.55. Start across chalk hills. 12.50. Cross a small wâdy running north-east from J. Yeleg, which is three miles distant. 1.5. Descend into fertile plain draining from J. Yeleg; the road to Suez keeps on through J. Yeleg. 2.30. A large green wâdy running north across the plain; a break in the chalk hills under J. Yeleg. 3.25. Halt.

May 20th.—3.35 A.M. start; 3.50 sand drifts. 4.30. Cross the plain to the pass in J. Maghârah; there are many sand-drifts in the plain and ancient burial-grounds, tombs, and stone circles, two of which on a

low hill were 10 yards in diameter. Maghârah is approached by a long slope, and loses its height as it is neared. 7.10. "Emshash," a group of about seventeen wells; only one, which is built to the bottom with stone, has water now; the stones are cut with the draw-ropes; the water is not very good. Five minutes beyond the well is a group of seven old tombs on a ridge. Aid stopped behind to wash in the well; how many have done the same before! 8.15. Reach the foot of J. Maghârah, which lies nearly at right angles to our course; from Emshash there is an ascent up a stony slope; the road consists of ten or twelve very old camel tracks. J. Yeleg stretches west as far as I can see, though it is a remarkably clear morning. The plain and wâdy between J. Yeleg and J. Maghârah is called W. Dow; there is no water in it, but beyond is a watering-place, "El Jidy," a well like Emshash. 8.40. Halt. 9.50. Continue the ascent; and at 10.17 reach the head of the pass, which is called W. Abu Ragadât, and enter a gravelly basin, one and a half miles across. The basin is surrounded by sandstone mountains, capped with limestone, which form the head of W. Gûer, or Gwêr. 11.45. Extensive ruins of round houses and tombs; two Sayal trees; the wâdy runs north-east. We turn to the left up a branch called W. Maghârah. 12.40. Halt. 1.15. Continue up wâdy, and at 1.55 reach Maghârah, a dirty water-hole, with a slope of dung down to it; there are traces of old masonry. There is another water-hole, under a rock, about 100 yards below, with good water. There are twelve very large watering-troughs, built of rough stones, round the upper hole. On the hills near are ruins of rectangular buildings, 30 feet by 20 feet, built with roughly-hewn stones; there is no mortar, but wooden tie-beams are built in. The rock contained ammonites. 2.10. Left Maghârah. 2.50. Top of pass; shelving rock dipping to the north. Descend by a wild pass over polished rock; in many places the rock had fallen on the path, which was probably much better in former times. 3.30. W. Mutlakah running north. Fine Sayal trees; the rocky shelves oblige the road to turn north for the descent. 4.15. Many "nawamîs" and long lines of cairns, like those at Moweilah, along the mountain tops on the east; more than forty in one line. J. Sheikh Hamayd on the right. 4.45. Halt. Some Arabs of the Alaideh tribe coming up, and proving troublesome, we started on at 6.45, and at 8.40 stopped for the night.

May 21st.—At 2.45 A.M. continued our journey over a rolling plateau with drifting sand. 4.45. End of the sand, and commenced to descend. 5.15. Halt. An extensive view over a large plain covered with hills of drifted sand. 7.0. Start. El Mahâddab, a watering-place, on the right. 8.30. J. Ras el Ellôo, a low mountain three miles to south-west. 9.0. Halt half-an-hour for camels to feed. 11.45. "El Motalla," a prominent point with "nawamîs"; found an arrow-head in a flint factory. Commence descent; a long low range, in the distance, on the south. 12.35. Halt. 2.30. Continue journey, and at 4.45 halt for the night.

May 22nd.—Start at 3.20 A.M. At 3.55 the head of a depression which runs south-west, and after two miles sweeps round to the west. 5.0. A long higher range of sandhills north of us at about two miles

distance; the sand is blown up from the north. A number of snakes' egg-shells seen yesterday and to-day. 6.15. Halt. 7.45. Continue journey. 10.55. Reach a high ridge after a long ascent. J. Hathâyib and Ras el Elôo in sight. J. Umm Ukshayb, a long low range, running north-east by south-west, about twenty-five miles distant on the right. 2.30. Sighted Ismailia and a large vessel going up the canal. Endless ridges and sand-drifts, walking not so good as yesterday. 2.45. Halt for the night.

May 23rd.—Start at 3.20 A.M., and reach canal at 7.15.

The above is an almost verbal transcript from Mr. Holland's field book, omitting the bearings, &c., which have been utilised in the construction of the map. It will be more useful to students in this form and will enable the general reader to follow Mr. Holland's route on the map, and realise the extent and value of his work, as well as the difficulties which he had to encounter.

C. W. W.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Date and Place.	Minimum Thermometer.	Barometer.	Altitude.	Remarks.
	Degrees.	Degrees.	Feet.	
May 6, W. Tureifeh	47	28·52	1560	N.W. Breeze, cloudy.
Junction of Wâdies Rowâg and el Arish	....	28·70	1390	
„ 7, Camp W. el Arish	40	28·90	1200	Dew, light breeze from N.W.
Nukb el Fahdi	....	28·70	1390	
„ 8, Camp W. el Fahdi	49	29·10	1015	No wind, cloudless.
Pass J. Sheraif	....	28·90	1200	
„ 9, Camp W. Utvâdif	53	29·33	800	
„ 10, Camp on plain	46	29·40	735	
Sherafâh Pass	....	29·30	825	
„ 11, Camp W. Moweilah	42	29·35	780	
„ 12, Camp W. Guseimeh	42	29·03	1080	
Hill N. of W. el 'Ain....	....	28·50	1580	
„ 13, Camp W. Guseimeh....	49	29·10	1015	
„ 14, Camp W. Jaifeh	....	28·60	1485	
Mouth of W. Kadeis	....	28·55	1530	
Ain Kadeis	....	28·36	1715	
Head of W. Haroof	....	27·12	2935	
„ 15, Camp W. Harâfeh	....	27·40	2655	
Arab tents on hill	....	27·00	3055	
Hill above W. Jerâfeh	....	26·60	3460	
„ 16, Camp W. Lussan	....	27·35	2705	
„ 17, Camp W. Dammath....	....	....	....	
„ 18, Camp W. Moweilah....	....	29·45	685	
W. el Arish	....	29·50	640	
Level of chalk hills	....	29·20	920	
„ 19, Water-parting	....	29·40	735	
W. el Hasanah	....	29·30	825	

Date and Place.	Minimum Thermometer.	Barometer.	Altitude.	Remarks.
	Degrees.	Degrees.	Feet.	
May 20, Camp in plain	....	29·32	810	
Foot of J. Maghârah	....	29·17	890	
Top of pass	....	28·98	1125	
Do.	....	28·60	1485	
W. Mutlakah	....	29·10	1015	
„ 21, Plateau	....	29·10	1015	
El Motalla	....	29·36	770	
„ 22, Head of depression	....	29·72	440	
Top of ridge	....	29·68	475	

"HETH AND MOAB."

This book, by Captain Claude R. Conder, R.E., is a popular account of the recent expedition to survey Eastern Palestine, interrupted and stopped by peremptory orders from Constantinople, as the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* already know. The work has now been out for two months, having been published in October, and the first edition is already nearly exhausted. It treats, in twelve chapters, of Kadesh on Orontes, the Land of the Hittites, the Phœnicians, the Land of Sihon, the Land of Ammon, Mount Gilead, Rude Stone Monuments, Syrian Dolmens, Syrian Superstitions, the Belka Arabs, Arab Folk-Lore, and the Future of Syria. There are also appendices. The following extracts are offered as some kind of guide to the contents of the volume.

The Cemetery of Tyre.

"But if the Tyrians were not here buried, where (it may be asked) was their cemetery? This question we may, I think, now answer. They were buried on the island, where the modern cemetery now exists, south of the town. Tyrian tombs consist of a chamber with *kokim*, or tunnels for single bodies, running in from the walls—three or four on each side of the chamber, as in Jewish tombs of the earliest period; but there is an essential difference between the two, for the Jewish chamber was reached by a little door from one side, the entrance being cut in the face of a cliff or steep slope. The Phœnician, on the other hand, like the Egyptian, sunk a shaft down from the flat top of the rock, and placed his chamber at the bottom, filling the shaft no doubt with stones, or covering it with a slab. Thus, while the Jewish tomb remains still recoverable, though rifled, the Phœnician is hidden as soon as a little rubbish has gathered over the rock. Curiously enough, we were able to prove this, and to show where one Tyrian, at least, was buried on the island, for in the cliff of the little bay

in the south-west angle of the double island is a hole, and through this it is just possible to squeeze into a small cavern called 'the Champion's Cave,' about ten feet by eight, and eleven high. Looking up, we could see the shaft which was the original entrance, covered with flat slabs, which are hid beneath the soil in which the modern graves are dug. The champion's grave had been plundered by some former visitor, and only the place where his sarcophagus lay could be seen; but on the top of the cliffs, which are about thirty or forty feet high, a large sarcophagus is still lying. To prove our contention more completely, excavations in the cemetery would be necessary; but as single tombs are rare, and the site of any necropolis generally immutable in the East, we may fairly consider that this discovery indicates the site of the old Tyrian cemetery."

The Fertility of Mount Gilead.

"Sycamore, beech, ilex, wild fig, are said to be among the species of its forest trees, and the carpet of wild flowers in spring is more luxuriant than elsewhere. Clover and ragged-robin, the red and white cistus, clematis, crow's foot, purple lupins, squills, the pink phlox (commonly called Rose of Sharon), the anemone, cyclamen, corn-flower, salvia, asphodel (both yellow and white), with vetches and wild mustard, marigolds, borage, moon-daisies, pheasant's-eye and cytizus, also orchids and broom, star of Bethlehem and poppies, tulips, and buttercups, are among the familiar plants on these hills. The mock-orange (styrax), the may, honey-suckle, and antirrhinum are found in the woods; and the oleaster, or wild olive, is not unfrequent. The lentisk, which is so common a shrub (with arbutus and laurestinus), is akin (at least according to some) to the balm of Gilead; but whatever be the real plant or shrub of the balsam, the traveller who has wandered over the Moabite deserts, or the scorching plains of Bashan, will not fail to find that there is 'balm in Gilead.' In its glades he may hear the blackbird's note, the nightingale, and the twitter of many familiar song-birds. Here the tomtit, the hoopoe, the beautiful jay, the roller, and the bee-eater, rejoice in the shade of the woods by the clear streams; here the roe and the fallow-deer still find a covert. The visitor cannot wonder that Gilead should be indicated to the persecuted Jews as a refuge and home, and, perhaps, had Israel known what lay before them in the dark mountains of the west, it would not have been only Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh who chose for their lot the eastern hills."

Rude Stone Monuments.

"The religion of the ancient races is intimately connected with all rude stone monuments, and temple and tomb are as closely united as they still are in a cathedral, with its famous dead, in our own land. Famous stones have names which seem to give them a human individuality. Such are the King-stone, Long Meg, or the stones of King Orris, Woden, St. Patrick, St. Declare, or St. Fillan in the British Isles. In France we have Pierre Martine and others, and the names given to stones by the Khassia tribes,

such as 'stone of the oath,' 'of grass,' 'of salt,' are equally instructive. The student who neglects the indications afforded by tradition, and endeavours to make the monuments tell a new tale without crediting that related by the descendants of those who erected the menhir or dolmen: who leaves out of account the beliefs and hopes and sorrows of those childlike ages, and thinks that man in savage times was but the utilitarian which civilisation has made him, is not likely really to penetrate into the mystery of these earliest of human monumental structures, and fails to sympathise with the ideas of builders whose conceptions of rugged grandeur, and of the moral effect of huge masses and of number, still excite the admiration of men in times when art and skill have so far surpassed the first efforts of the illiterate and prehistoric period."

The Meaning of the Syrian Monuments.

"The menhir is the emblem of an ancient deity, the circle is a sacred enclosure, without which the Arab still stands with his face to the rising sun. The dolmen, whether modern or prehistoric, is (when free-standing) an altar rather than a tomb. The cairn is not always sepulchral, being sometimes a memorial heap; the disc-stone is a distinct production, perhaps of a later age. Such evidence as we possess shows that the rude tribes beyond Jordan buried their dead in small chambers cut in the rock, or in tombs similar to those of the Phœnician and the Jew, and not beneath the table-stone of a free-standing trilithon; while the mounds of the Jordan valley and of the Hittite plains, whether citadels or sacred hills, have as yet never yielded sepulchral deposits."

To say that we still find the altars of Balak standing on Nebo may be premature. To point out the great dolmen at 'Amman as the throne of Og may be considered fanciful by some; but we may at least claim that we find structures which seem to resemble the early altars and pillars mentioned in Scripture still existing at places which, on entirely independent grounds, may be identified as representing the Mizpeh of Jacob, and the holy mountains of Nebo, Baal and Peor. While in Judea not a single dolmen now remains standing, because in their zeal for the faith of Jehovah, the good kings Hezekiah and Josiah swept away for ever the 'tables of Gad.'"

Fish Superstition.

"The mosque of el Bedawi, at Tripoli, contains in its courtyard a cistern, or pond, of sacred fish. These are believed to have disappeared during the Russo-Turkish War, and to have been transformed into Moslem warriors, who fought for the Sultan. After the war they resumed their fish-form, and returned to Tripoli, re-appearing in the tank. According to M. Blanche, the Beidawîyeh, as the mosque is called, takes its name from St. Antony of Padua, whose church once stood here. St. Antony, be it remembered, was the saint who preached to the fishes, and it is probable that the sacred fish-pond was found already existing by the Crusaders, and was then consecrated to the saint. Tripoli was once a sacred city of

Venus, and stands on the stream of Kadesha, or Kadesh. To Venus the sacred fish were no doubt once holy, and at Ascalon and Accho, down even to the fifth century, the Syrian Venus had still her sacred ponds. It is interesting, therefore, to note that there yet remains at Accho (St. Jean D'Acre) another pond of sacred fish, and that a riot was caused in this town not many years ago by the imprudence of a monk who fished up and broiled for his own eating one of the supernatural fish of Accho."

The Character of Muhammad.

"Muhammad was a poet who had gathered a scanty crop of materials from sources almost inexhaustible: these ideas he clothed in language which cannot compare for force and beauty with that of the originals, and he repeated them with wearisome iteration. His ideas were essentially narrow, and without originality, as compared even with the teaching of Zoroaster and Buddha; and, however great his triumph among Arabs, who were mere savages in a boundless wilderness, the power of Islam has been consolidated by men not of Arab race, and it is impossible for the civilised European, unless led astray by enthusiasm or by interest, seriously to maintain that the barbarous fatalism of Islam is the religion of the future."

HAMATHITE AND EGYPTIAN.

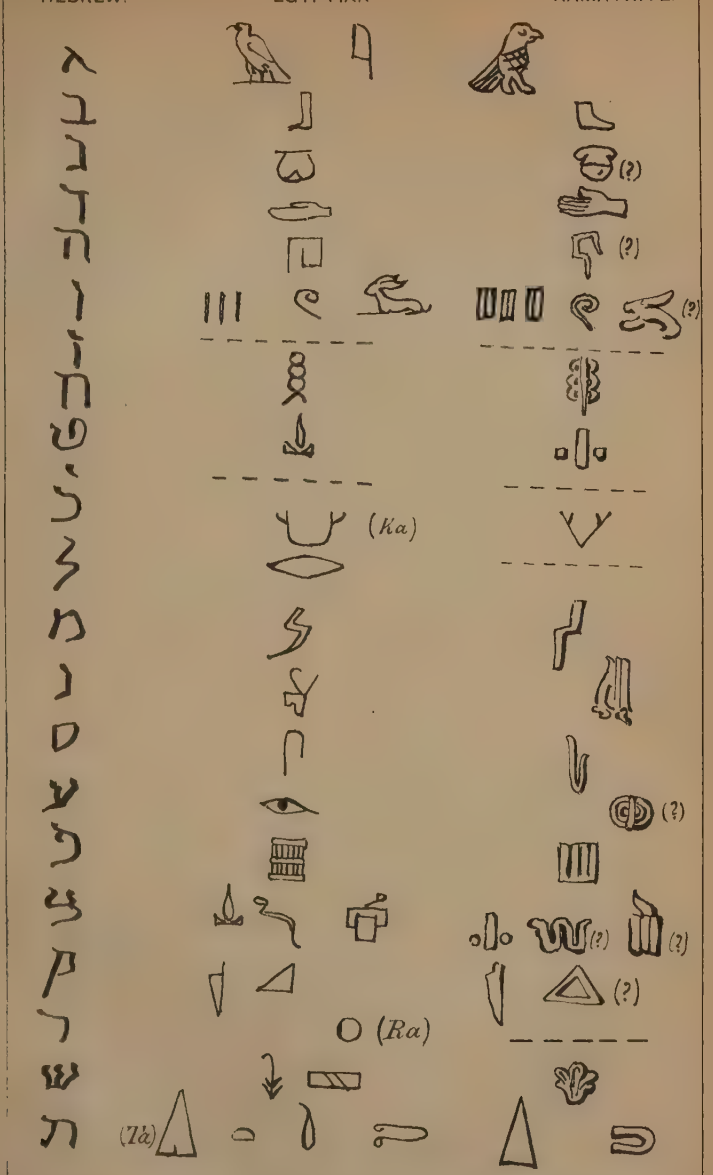
It may be of interest to give the values of some of the Hamathite signs which would result from the supposition that the phonetic sound is the same as in Egyptian.

The comparison with the Semitic alphabet was established by Mariette; as regards the rabbit, I still incline to think the explanation possible. Professor Sayce gives us a rabbit from Boghaz-Keui ("Trans Bib. Arch. Soc.," 1881, p. 257). The use as a suffix (p. 276) would agree with its value as *Vau*.

An interesting suggestion in this matter was made to me by Rev. W. Wright, namely, that the Hittite names on the Egyptian monuments should be compared with the Hamathite texts to see if any of them (personal or geographical) occur.

I understand that Professor Sayce connects the upper of the three symbols here given with the name of a goddess, 'Ate, עתי, worshipped in Northern Syria ("Trans. Bib. Arch. Soc.," 1881, p. 260). Now the combination shown occurs on the texts from Jerâbis three times, and if the Egyptian equivalents are correctly given it would read 'Atu (עתו).

Another suggestion as to these figures may also be hazarded. The two signs here



Comparison of Hebrew and Hamathite, based on Mariette's identification of Hieroglyphic Equivalents for Hebrew Sounds.

C. R. CONDER, R.E., *del.*

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shown indicate a suffix, according to Professor Sayce. According to the attached proposed alphabet, they would read *eth* or *ath* (את), which might be a feminine noun ending.

I offer such notes as suggestions only, not as proven facts, believing it possible that, either these unread monuments have a common origin with Egyptian, or that the Northern nations borrowed their signs from Egypt itself at an early historic period.

Lieut. Mantell, R.E., has kindly obtained for us a photograph of the wooden texts on the tomb of Hosi; and Emile Brugsch Bey has kindly given him a squeeze, which has also arrived safely, of the wooden inscription at Sakkarah. The interest of these lies in the fact that they are Archaic specimens of hieroglyphic writing in relief, as in the Hamathite texts. Of the symbols published in the last *Quarterly*, as many as twenty-five are found on these archaic monuments. The comparison of these texts will, I hope, lead to further illustration of the Hamathite. At present the result of the comparison of the wooden texts with the so-called Hittite ones is the addition of three characters, viz., first *Ka*, the well-known emblem for "spirit," which seems to occur on seals; secondly, a determinative; and thirdly, an unusual character from the Sakkarah texts, also found at Jerâbis.

C. R. C.

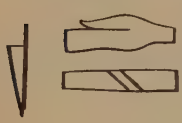
HITTITE GEOGRAPHY.

The Karnak lists from No. 120 to 349 give a long category of towns in Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia, and possibly in Asia Minor. A few of these now begin to be recognisable, and the following identifications are partly those published by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins and partly new suggestions.

121. *Ai*, perhaps Kefr Aya, south of Homs .... H. G. T.
122. *Amau*, or *Amatu*, perhaps Hamath .... H. G. T.
125. *Tharmanna*, perhaps Turmanîn .... H. G. T.
157. *Khallos*, perhaps Killis .... C. R. C.
165. *Kanretu*, possibly Kinnesrin, near Aleppo .... C. R. C
189. *Nireb*, probably Nirab, south of Aleppo .... H. G. T.
190. *Theleb*, perhaps Edlib .... C. R. C.
196. *Nishapa*, clearly Nisib, near Bir .... H. G. T.
201. *Natub*, perhaps Ain Tab .... H. G. T.
203. *Aithna*, probably Ataniya .... C. R. C.
204. *Sukana*, probably Sukneh .... C. R. C.
205. *Tuaub*, probably Taiyibeh (C. R. C.) or Kefr Tob H. G. T
206. *Abir* (*na*), *th* probably Bir (=Birejik) .... C. R. C.

237. *Artha*, probably Aradus .... C. R. C.
252. *Sur* appears to be Tyre .... C. R. C.
254. *Nuzana* (also noticed with Tyre in the Mohar's journey) seems to be a stream or town by a river, probably the Kasimîyeh.
280. *Pederi* =Pethor, near Euphrates.
308. *Amak*, perhaps the present 'Umk plain preserves the name near Antioch .... C. R. C.
264. *Karshua*, perhaps Karis .... C. R. C.
311. *Khalbu*, =Aleppo ....

Among the Hittite allies at the battle of Kadesh were the Karkish or Kalkish, whose names may survive at the later Calchis—a town of this name existed south of Baalbek, and another near to Aleppo. The Dapur conquered in this campaign may be *Dibl* east of Tripoli.



In this same connection it may be interesting to note the hieroglyphic characters which denote the famous city of Kadesh. Two at least of these emblems are identical with signs used on the supposed Hittite texts.

In the same connection the name of Kheta Sar, as written in hieroglyphic, is also of interest, including as it does the Egyptian emblems for the name of the Hittites.

C. R. C.

JERUSALEM OF THE KINGS.

With due deference to Professor Sayce, and to those who may agree with his views, I should like to be allowed to ask a few questions concerning the sketch and the two papers which he has contributed to the last *Quarterly Statement*. It is, no doubt, possible that the long list of authorities who agree in substance in regarding the Jerusalem of the Old Testament as approximately identical with the modern city may be wrong, and Professor Sayce, who confines its site to the Ophel spur, may be right. I do not, however, gather that any *new fact* unknown to Robinson, Williams, Lewin, Tobler, Thrupp, and Warren is brought forward by Professor Sayce in support of his views, and I think I may say with considerable confidence that there are facts represented on Sir C. Warren's plans and recorded in the reports of the exploring officers which militate very strongly against Professor Sayce's views. As regards these facts, in the first place, I would ask--

I. How is it shown that Dr. Guthe discovered a valley "which sepa-

ANCIENT JERUSALEM.

Showing the Rock Surface & Ruins.

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Dr GUTHE'S WORK

Site Plan of the principal remains.

REMARKS.

A. Wall
B. Wall
C. West face supposed tower stones not drafted stand on rock are 2 to 4 feet long 1½ ft high: two courses.
D. Rough wall 1 course stones about 2ft. by 1ft.
E. Wall 1 coarse drafted stones on a low rock scarp stones about 1ft by 2ft.
F. Old extent of rock pool at Siloam.
G. Corner drafted stones 1ft. to 3ft long 1½ ft high three courses.

C.R. Conder, Capt. R.E.
19. 5. 83.

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rated Zion from Moriah?" Laying down the valley shown by Professor Sayce on the Ordnance Survey map, I find that there are a number of known levels along its supposed course. The mines which Sir C. Warren sank to the rock on Ophel in this vicinity (Nos. 8, 9, 14, 25, 38, &c.) give us far more detailed knowledge of the rock in this position than can be gathered from anything published by Dr. Guthe. The mines which Dr. Guthe drove I was courteously allowed to examine, and to me it appears perfectly certain that the work done was not sufficient to allow of any conclusions being drawn which in any way might be placed on a footing with the work of the English Society. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Guthe has never published any site plan of his works, but this deficiency I have endeavoured roughly to supply. It is also to be regretted that no levels appear to have been taken in his mines which might definitely fix the height of the rock where he uncovered it; but, on the other hand, we already possess so many observations as to render it impossible to suppose that any valley such as that shown on Professor Sayce's sketch can ever have existed. The rock was found by Dr. Guthe at the points *D* and *E* (see attached site plan), so near the present surface that, although no levels were obtained, his results only served to confirm those already reached by Sir C. Warren. It may therefore, I think, be considered proven that no valley dividing the Ophel spur in twain exists, and that any theory founded on this supposition is unsound. The geological evidence might be found to agree with the preceding arguments, but the rock as found by Dr. Guthe alone is sufficient to condemn the theory.

II. How is it shown that Dr. Guthe recovered the walls of David and Solomon? I was allowed to examine the masonry he uncovered at various points, and, judging by that which I have examined in other ruins in all parts of Palestine and Syria, I should feel no hesitation in saying (without intending any disrespect to Dr. Guthe) that he had recovered the remains of houses and other buildings not older, in all probability, than the fourth century A.D. It was not a mighty rampart, such as that planned by Sir C. Warren on Ophel, that Dr. Guthe found, but much thinner walls of comparatively small ashlar—the foundations, in fact, of those monastic and other buildings which we know historically to have occupied this spur in the early Christian centuries.

It appears, in short, to be assumed that the Ophel spur has, as yet, been but little explored. The fact is, however, that the northern part was very thoroughly examined by Sir C. Warren, and that there is but very little *débris* on the southern part, which has been again and again visited and examined by various explorers, including M. Clermont-Ganneau. In 1872 I reported on the remains of rock-cut aqueducts visible on the surface, and since destroyed by quarrying, and on Sir C. Wilson's survey the rock will be found showing on the surface in many parts of the southern portion of the Ophel spur. It appears to me that theories which take no account of these varied observations can hardly be regarded as of great value.

III. Proceeding next to the considerations which are more purely theoretical, I would draw attention to the legitimate outcome of Professor Sayce's sketch when compared with the Survey of Sir C. Wilson. If the supposed valley be traced on the Survey, it will be found that the area within the walls south of this line, according to Professor Sayce's sketch, is not larger than 8 English acres. This is a good deal smaller than Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and considerably smaller than the base of the Great Pyramid. The courts of Herod's Temple occupied about four times this area, and an ordinary English field is generally larger than Professor Sayce's Jerusalem. This was the City of David according to the new theory, the northern part of the spur being Ophel. The capital of Syria, in David's time, occupied consequently only 8 acres, and in the time of Manasseh, when Ophel was included, it still only occupied about 15 acres. The Jebusite village which Professor Sayce proposes (for the first time) to place on the Temple-hill was, he informs us, cleared away by Solomon.

With regard to these facts, two questions may be asked, which are as follows :—

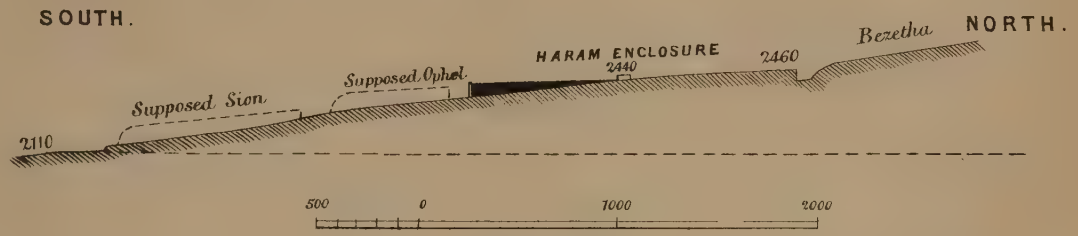
Is there any good reason to suppose that the capital of David's kingdom was a village only about a third the size of any ordinary Fellah hamlet of modern Palestine? Can any ancient city be pointed out by Professor Sayce whose walls only included an area of either 8 or even of 15 acres? Certainly in Palestine we never found an ancient town of such minute size, and unless authentic plans can be produced of famous cities occupying such an extent, we are justified, I think, in considering this a very important objection. For purposes of comparison I here give the areas of various cities of which good plans exist, and the differences will, I think, at once strike the reader :—

	Acres.
Cæsarea (within the Roman walls)....	300
The Hill of Samaria (within the colonnade)	160
Rabbath Ammon { upper city 29 acres / lower city 31 „ }	60
Gerasa (Roman walls)	200
Tyre (the island town only)....	100
Gezer (the hill site only)	40
Jerusalem, in 30 A.D.	200
„ in 70 A.D.	300

No comparison is, of course, possible with such huge cities as Thebes, Memphis, Nineveh, or Babylon. Nineveh (see Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 87) had, according to modern plans, an area of 2,500 acres. Babylon (see Professor Oppert's plan) was 12 miles square (72,160 acres). Modern London, we may note, occupies 700 square miles, with $4\frac{3}{4}$ million souls of population. The usual size of a modern Fellah village is from 20 to 40 acres, but Jerusalem was a capital, and a place at least as important as Tyre on its island. David's conquest extended over at least 15,000

SECTION OF OPHEL & TEMPLE HILL.

Natural Vertical Scale.



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square miles of country. Solomon was married to the daughter of the Pharaoh, and was allied as an equal with Hiram the Phœnician. The city was so strong that even the great King of Assyria was unable to take it, and Nebuchadnezzar laid long siege to it before he conquered it. In later times (probably in Hezekiah's reign) the civilisation of Jerusalem was so advanced that a fine inscription was carefully cut on rock to record the making of the Great Siloam Tunnel.[1] Surely all that we know of Egypt and of Assyria directly contradicts the supposition that a capital like Jerusalem can only have occupied an area of 8 acres.

The second question connected with the matter of the area regards the history of the city. Professor Sayce speaks, it is true, of præ-exilic Jerusalem, but his sketch applies to the Jerusalem of Nehemiah, and his quotations are taken from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah quite as often as from earlier writings. It follows, then, that down to about 300 B.C. the city still did not occupy more than 15 acres in area, yet in the time of Christ, as Professor Sayce will, I think, agree, the hills west and north of the Tyropœon Valley had become covered with buildings, and were included within walls. When did this great increase of area take place? Jerusalem in 30 A.D. occupied 200 acres, but as between 200 B.C. and 140 B.C. the whole country was undergoing great troubles, and the capital was often in ruins for some considerable time, we cannot well suppose it to have begun to grow in size until the time, at earliest, of the Hasmonean kings. Is it possible, I would ask, that in 200 years an Oriental city increased from 15 to 200 acres, and if so astonishing a growth occurred, how is it that we have no record of it, and no notice of the real builders of the new walls which Josephus ascribes to David, Solomon, and succeeding kings?

IV. Hitherto we have considered this question from a purely practical point of view, comparing Professor Sayce's sketch with the Survey, and with the results of exploration, and indicating the inevitable consequences of the new theory. No reference has been made to the accounts given by ancient writers, or to the words of the Bible narratives. It is well known that Professor Sayce values Josephus and Herodotus also at a very low estimate, and that he also values the Book of Chronicles in the same way, accusing the author of "loose wording," and "confusion" (*Quarterly Statement*, pp. 212, 221).

What is here said will, therefore, have weight only with those who

[1] It will be best not to complicate this inquiry by entering into the question of the date of the Siloam Inscription. Dr. Isaac Taylor has published the views which result from his special study of the alphabet (cf. Alphabet, Vol. I, p. 238), and his opinion must carry very great weight in the matter. He concludes that the text may possibly be as old as Hezekiah's time, but he is himself inclined (p. 237) to regard it as not earlier than Manasseh. The arguments as to the forms of certain letters which he adduces appear to me entirely to preclude the possibility that the text is, as Professor Sayce now suggests, as old as Solomon's time.

believe that writers who described what was before their own eyes are more likely to have been right than students who eighteen centuries later endeavour to reconstruct ancient cities by the aid of certain selected expressions or passages in the writings of the authors in question.

As, however, Professor Sayce makes use of the Bible narratives, he may, perhaps, attach some value to certain passages which are not mentioned in his papers, and although he does not accept the evidence of Josephus as having any accurate value, it seems impossible to suppose that he is prepared entirely to reject the general statements of that author. I propose, then, to consider the Biblical statements as to the population of Jerusalem, and the account given by Josephus as to the walls.

As regards *population*, it is stated (2 Kings xxiv, 14) that Nebuchadnezzar took captive "all Jerusalem . . . ten thousand captives . . . none remained save the poorest." Either this statement must be explained away, or we must suppose a density of 1,000 souls per acre, giving only $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards by 2 yards per soul. Modern Jerusalem has a population of 20,000 souls within the walls in 200 acres. Modern Jerusalem is a very crowded city, but Professor Sayce's Jerusalem, if the Book of Kings is correct, had ten souls *in* the same area now occupied by one.

Ezra brought to Jerusalem 1,496 males (or 3,000 souls) in addition to the population which previously existed, which might be deduced to have been about 9,500 souls (Ezra ii, 64, and viii, 3–14) out of 42,360 exiles who came back to Judea. We have thus a population of at least 3,000, and probably of 12,000 in Ezra's time, yet in the Book of Nehemiah we read: "The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall one far from another" (Neh. iv, 19); and again, "Now the city was large and great, but the people were few therein" (vii, 3). Again, rather later, a tenth of the village population (that is, 3,000 to 5,000 souls) is brought into the town (Neh. xi, 1; cf. vii, 66), giving a population of at least 10,000 souls as before the siege—a total which, as before shown, could not be the population of a town of 15 acres.

Taking an average from many towns and villages, we may state 100 souls per acre as the normal population of any Syrian city; ancient Jerusalem possessed open spaces (רחב) and a royal palace and a governor's house (Ezra x, 9; Neh. iii, 7; viii, 1 and 16; xii, 37). The maximum of population, according to Professor Sayce's view, would thus be 800 souls in David's time, and 1,500 souls in the later days of Manasseh or of Ezra. Not only does this disagree with the Bible, but the result seems clearly impossible, considering the extent of Solomon's dominions and the size of ancient Asiatic capitals.

If, on the other hand, we accept the views of Sir C. Warren and Mr. J. Fergusson as to the extent of the ancient city, we shall obtain results in perfect accord with the Bible statements of population.

The areas are as below :—

	Acres.
Upper city	140
Lower city	45
Ophel	15
Total....	200

The normal population would be 20,000 souls, and when the city contained only some 5,000 souls it might consequently well be considered very empty. The Biblical statements as to population are consequently in favour of the general opinion, and not of the new theory.

As regards the testimony of Josephus, I have only to ask, Why is the following statement unworthy of credence ?

"Now of these three walls the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage as to the place where they were situated it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon and the succeeding kings were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, &c., &c." (5 "Wars," iv, 2).

Has Professor Sayce considered this passage ? Is he prepared to prove that this "old wall" is his wall, and that Hippicus was on the Ophel hill ? or does he reject the whole account of Jerusalem given by Josephus ? I do not think he will find it possible to reconcile Josephus with his theory. The attempt has been made long since to do this, and to place Akra on Ophel, and it has always been found to lead to helpless confusion of the topography, and to final denial of some or other statements of the ancient accounts. We must then glance for a moment at the question of the Akra.

V. Sir C. Warren and Professor Sayce agree in identifying Zion and Akra and the City of David as all three one and the same. We may assume, then, that this view rests on good grounds, which it is unnecessary here to detail. Sir C. Warren, however, writes these names west of the Temple, Professor Sayce at the end of the Ophel spur. I think no student can read Josephus without seeing that the former view is correct. A "broad valley" separated Akra from the Temple (5 "Wars," iv, 1), and such a valley exists between the two as identified by Warren, Robinson, Conder, &c.; but we have seen that it is proved that no such broad valley ever cut in two the Ophel spur. Of the levels we will say nothing, for Akra was cut down by the Hasmoneans; but the "broad valley" noticed by Josephus has no existence, according to the view of Professor Sayce.

VI. We must now say a few words on the facts which really lie at the root of the new controversy. It has come to be generally allowed that the view which I have advocated as to the position of Gihon is correct, and Professor Sayce adopts my identification with the so-called Virgin's Fountain. But does it therefore follow that the great aqueduct to Siloam is intended in the passage where Hezekiah is said to have brought the

water down "on the west side of the City of David?" To me it appears that the Siloam Pools are on the south rather than on the west of the spur, where Professor Sayce places the City of David. Until the year 1881 I was always unable to explain the passage in question to my own satisfaction, but during that year I reported on the aqueduct found by the Fellahin leading away westwards from the Siloam Pools on the slope of the western hill now called Zion. We ascertained the levels of the channel, and its antiquity is shown by the great accumulation of *débris* above it. As it was found after Professor Sayce's visit, it may have escaped his notice, for it is not mentioned in his paper. If the term "City of David" (*i.e.*, the capital of David's time) were applied, as I believe it should be applied, to the two western hills (the Upper City and Akra of Josephus), the discovery of this aqueduct would, I think, be found to explain the difficult passage (2 Chron. xxxii, 30) more completely than it can ever be explained on Professor Sayce's theory.

The question of the position of the Tombs of the Kings is intimately connected also with the new theory. To me it appears quite clear that two royal cemeteries existed. The first was in the City of David, and the more famous Kings of Judah were buried in it. It seems to me most probably to be the ancient Jewish tomb still existing immediately west of the traditional Holy Sepulchre. This theory I have often explained in detail, and it has met with acceptance by many. But of Ahaz we read, "They brought him not into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel" (*i.e.* David, Solomon, and Rehoboam), 2 Chronicles xxviii, 27. Uzziah was buried in his own garden (probably the "garden of Uzzah"), and Manasseh and Amon appear also to have been excluded from the original cemetery. If we suppose the garden of Uzzah to have belonged to the royal palace on Ophel, we obtain a second royal cemetery, to which allusion appears to be made in the Book of Nehemiah, and I believe it will be found that every passage in the Bible is satisfied by this view, without its being necessary to place the City of David in a practically impossible position.

These two explanations as to the aqueduct and the tombs will be found to dispose of all the real arguments as yet brought forward in favour of the new theory, and I may perhaps be allowed to say that I endeavoured, before publishing my views as to ancient Jerusalem, to weigh these arguments impartially while coming to a conclusion.

VII. Professor Sayce's views as to the history of the various pools agree in great measure with those which I published in 1879, in the "Handbook to the Bible." There is, however, a good deal that must remain conjectural. We do not really know where the Fuller's Field was, although Professor Sayce's view as to the upper and lower pools is identical with that which I have published.

The argument as to the date of the Siloam aqueduct seems to me, however, to fail entirely. In the first place, is it necessary to conclude that "the waters of Shiloah that go softly" (Isa. viii, 6) were running in an aqueduct? May they not have run in an open stream down the valley?

In the second place, when we reflect on cases like those of Adullam, Keilah, Shiloh, &c., it becomes quite clear that it is not necessary to suppose that ancient fortresses were always fixed close to springs. The strongest position was chosen, and if water did not occur within the walls cisterns were hewn. It is hardly necessary to prove this in detail, but the amount of available evidence is quite conclusive in the matter.

I have failed to find any passage in the Bible which can be considered to contradict the direct statement of the chronicler, according to which the Siloam Tunnel was hewn by Hezekiah, and I therefore offer the following proposed history of the Jerusalem pools, which appears to reconcile all the Biblical passages without the necessity of supposing "that the chronicler has confused" distinct localities. According to my view we should suppose—

1st. In the time of Ahaz, a spring (Gihon) with a stream down the Kedron, and two pools for rain-water (upper and lower), with a rock conduit (still existing, as do the pools) joining the upper to the lower.

2nd. In the time of Hezekiah, the construction of a new pool *at the spring*. The cave pool of the Virgin's Fountain is evidently artificial, and was probably cut at the same time as the aqueduct. This is the "pool" that was made by Hezekiah, where only a natural spring before existed. At the same time Warren's shaft was cut in order to "bring water into the city" by its means, and the Siloam aqueduct was excavated and *was continued beyond the pool westwards on the slope of the hill of the upper city, which was the stronghold of Sion, and part of the City of David.* Even these alterations did not bring the spring of Jerusalem within the walls, although the Siloam Pools were close to the ramparts. Jerusalem always largely depended, even in its best days, on the great reservoirs described by Josephus and Tacitus. It follows from this view that the Siloam Inscription cannot be older than Hezekiah, and this agrees with the strong epigraphic arguments of Dr. Isaac Taylor respecting the date of the text.

VIII. In conclusion, a few details ought to be separately noticed. The valley-gate and the dung-gate were 1,000 cubits apart. On Professor Sayce's plan, when applied to the Survey, they will be found to be 300 cubits apart, and I think he will find it very difficult to give the required distance, without hopelessly crowding the other points on the wall. The circumference which he supposes is, in fact, too small to agree with these measurements. Professor Sayce's plan also requires us to suppose two gates both called "the corner gate." According to my plan all the references can be applied to one gate. The corner gate was 400 cubits from the gate of Ephraim, along the wall (2 Kings xiv, 13). Professor Sayce's plan makes it only 200 cubits distant, and the reason is clearly, as before, that his wall is too short to allow space for the gates.

Professor Sayce follows the Crusaders in placing En-rogel at the Bîr Eyûb. The discovery of Zoheleth induced Sir C. Warren to place En-rogel at the Virgin's Fountain—the only true *En*, or spring, at Jerusalem (*cf.* 1 Kings i, 9). As to Zoheleth, I am prepared to show the radical identity of the Arabic and Hebrew words which M. Clermont-Ganneau

has compared, and to account, on dialectic grounds, for the presence of the *Waw* in the Arabic form of the name *Zahweileh*, which has the same meaning as the Hebrew *Zoheleth*, and the same tri-literal root.

Professor Sayce says that the sheep-gate is mentioned in John v, 2. This is true of the English version, but Professor Sayce is no doubt aware that all ancient authorities regarded the *Probatike* as being not a gate at all, but a pool.

As regards the chronicler's account of the Ophel wall, Professor Sayce considers that his wording is "somewhat loose" (p. 221). The chronicler says that Manasseh built a wall "without the City of David" (לעיר דויצונה), on the west side of Gihon, in the valley. Professor Sayce appears to think that he meant to say "round the City of David." This may be necessary to the new theory, but the old theory fits exactly with the distinct meaning of the Hebrew words, and the chronicler had at least this advantage over the modern student, that the walls were then standing before his eyes.

The Hebrew particle אל is rendered "on" by Professor Sayce in two passages (2 Chron. xxxii, 30; xxxiii, 14); why, then, is it rendered "from" in another passage (Josh. xv, 9), where the Authorised Version reads "unto?" I think that if Professor Sayce will consider the whole question of the boundary of Judah (Josh. xv and xviii) he will agree in running the line further south than he at present proposes to do, and that the generally accepted reading of the Hebrew will be found satisfactory. It certainly agrees with established views as to Jerusalem topography, though not perhaps with the new theory.

Finally, I would ask if Solomon cleared away a city of Jebusites in order to build his Temple, as Professor Sayce supposes, is it not remarkable that no hint of this arbitrary act is found in the Old Testament?

We read of David and Solomon as rebuilding the Jebusite town, and as buying an open threshing-floor as the site of the Altar; we hear nothing of destruction or of the two towns, upper and lower, divided by a district only afterwards occupied and called Ophel. On Ophel Solomon built his palace, and this, as we learn distinctly, was outside the City of David (1 Kings ix, 24).

With Professor Sayce's topography on the east I for one must in the main concur. His plan will be found to coincide with that which I published in 1879 ("Handbook to the Bible"), in almost all the details on this side, and some of those details I think I may claim to have been the first theorist to assign to the positions which Professor Sayce adopts. As regards the topography on the west side, I think that after considering the explanations now offered on the points which really induced Professor Sayce to adopt his present views, I may rely on him to reconsider his position. The impartiality of Professor Sayce and his constant effort to keep his mind open on doubtful questions are very well known. I hope he will weigh the suggestions I have ventured to offer concerning area and population, concerning the history of the pools and of the aqueducts, concerning the information which we possess as to the levels on the Ophel

spur, and concerning the two royal cemeteries mentioned in the Bible. He may, perhaps, even do me the honour of reading the account which I have endeavoured to give in the "Handbook to the Bible" concerning our present knowledge of ancient Jerusalem, and I know that if, on reading these remarks, he should become convinced that the generally accepted theories are really the simplest (and they have been very carefully thought out by many experienced and able writers), we can rely upon his expressing his adhesion to the views of the majority, including such names as Robinson, Fergusson, Williams, Lewin, and Warren.[1]

C. R. Conder, *Captain, R.E.*

DISC STONES.

I must thank Dr. Selah Merrill for correcting our measurement of the Mensef Abu Zeid by 10 inches. I have no doubt he is right. The stone in question weighs, probably, some twenty tons, and for this reason I do not agree with Mr. Merrill in regarding it as a millstone.

There are two kinds of millstones commonly used in Syria. Those for grinding corn, which are large and made of basalt, and those belonging to olive-presses, which are small and made of limestone. A limestone block would not, I think, be hard enough to grind corn, and for this reason the basalt stones imported from the Hauran are much prized. There is no doubt a danger of mistaking a modern utensil for an ancient emblem. Even Dr. Schliemann did not escape this danger. On the other hand, the surveyors had seen very many millstones which they could compare with the Mensef, but never, I think, did they find a horse or donkey who could have turned this great disc stone in a mill. I have lately found an instance of disc stones which are clearly solar emblems, namely, the twin disc stones of Killiney, co. Dublin. The 'Amrit disc stone is just about the size of the Mensef, and the disc stone with a central obelisk is a well-known emblem to Oriental archæologists. Such antiquities are not, however, I believe, found in America.

C. R. C.

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[1] Sir C. Wilson's name will no doubt in time be added to that of other authorities when he has time to publish his views. At present, however, we can only appeal to his Survey and Memoir, as he has not expressed an opinion on the questions now under consideration.

PILLAR OR GARRISON?

Thanking H. B. S. W. for his support on this question, and, without wishing to insist on an interpretation which may be doubtful, I would note that his argument as to the verse "the garrison of the Philistines went out" (יצא מצב) is apparently inconclusive, because this verb is used of inanimate objects, in a manner which seems to support my view. Thus we read in Joshua xv, 3, 9, &c., יצא הגבול "and the border went out," in the sense of extended. My idea is, that the Philistine border was marked by a cippus, or menhir, which Jonathan smote, and that, having obtained possession of Geba, he forced the Philistines to retire across the valley, and to establish themselves at Michmash. This border—no doubt protected by an outpost called "the men of the garrison" (xiv, 12)—then "went out," or "extended only as far as the "passage of Michmash" (xiii, 23), and the desecrated menhir may have been here erected anew. The passage has always, I believe, been considered difficult, and "garrison" is by no means the general reading. "Standing camp" (in the margin), "governor," "boundary" (Speaker's Commentary), and other renderings have been suggested; but as to the general reading of the words מצב and נצב (the Arabic *Nusb*) there is no doubt whatever; and H. B. S. W. has shown clearly how hasty is Mr. Birch's assertion, "It is an entire mistake to say it is rendered pillar in other passages of the Old Testament." My view was derived from a study of the Speaker's Commentary, which renders מצב by "boundary."

C. R. C.

THE KHURBETS OF CARMEL.

The accurate delineation of Mount Carmel in the Society's map, will in all probability have corrected the idea hitherto widely but erroneously entertained in regard to this historic locality. We are now able to realise that Carmel is not an isolated mountain, but a highland region, about thirty-five miles in circumference, with various ranges cut up by narrow gorges, or broader valleys, and diversified by lofty spurs, rounded summits, and level or undulating plateaux. The explorer is thus furnished with a district through which he may wander with the pleasing consciousness that he will not speedily exhaust its picturesque or archæological points of interest, but may at any moment unexpectedly stumble upon the sites of ruined towns, or feast his eyes upon new beauties

of scenery. Indeed, it is impossible once more to supply, in imagination, this region with the population it must have contained in former ages, without realising that it possessed all those attributes which rendered its loveliness proverbial. The massive ruins which are so abundantly strewn over its loftiest summits, the traces of terraces which cover every hill-side, the gigantic roots of old forest trees, long since departed, which crop through the soil, the remains of mills, reservoirs, and cisterns, which bear testimony to its wealth of water, all furnish evidence that the highlands of Carmel once supported a large civilised population, and that it has been subjected to a very high degree of cultivation. With the conquest of Palestine by the Arabs, about the middle of the seventh century, the beauty of Carmel doubtless began to fade ; still it is probable that it retained some of its leading characteristics until the end of the thirteenth century, when, on the expulsion of the Crusaders, it lapsed once more under the influence of Islam. We have no clear historic record of the conditions of the mountain from the year 1291, when the Carmelite monks were driven from the monastery, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when they recovered their position ; but it is probable that it was almost completely uninhabited for about 300 years. It was in the early part of the seventeenth century that the Druse Emir Fakr-ed-dîn, having conquered Beyrout, and the coast towns to the south of it, extended his sway as far as Carmel, and under his rule were established the eight Druse villages, of which two, Esfia and Dahlieh, alone exist. The other six, the remains of which I have visited, were all built on the sites, and with the stones of ancient towns. They are—

Khurbet Beistan,
„ Umm esh Shukf,
„ Shellâleh,
„ Duweimîn,
„ Duweibeh,
„ 'Aleiya-eddîn.

Besides the population contained in these villages, there were a few Druse families scattered over the mountain in hamlets. As the sites of these villages were the most eligible, it is probable that when Fakr-ed-dîn appropriated the mountain there were no inhabitants in it, or they would have been occupied—the more especially as, except the two which remain, the mountain is again abandoned ; for the Moslem villages of Belad esh Sheikh, Tireh, Umm es Zeinat, Tsjim and 'Ain Haud, which own lands in the mountain, are all situated at its foot, with the exception of Umm es Zeinat, which is on a lower range of hills to the south-east, below the Makkraka. There are no Moslems actually on Carmel proper. Its entire population consists of about 800 Druses, divided between the two villages of Dahlieh and Esfia and fifty Christians of the Melehite sect, who live at the latter place, and the monks in the monastery. The Druses of Dahlieh are of a somewhat superior type to those of Esfia, having come direct from the neighbourhood of Aleppo, the original cradle of the Druse nation.

Dahlieh is the most southern Druse village in Palestine. The inhabitants of Esfia, and the remaining Druse villages now deserted, were all from the Lebanon. The tyranny of Ibrahim Pacha during the Egyptian occupation of Palestine, and the lawless and predatory habits of the inhabitants of Tireh and Tsjim especially, rendered the mountain untenable, to a great extent, by the Druses of the six villages I have enumerated, and one by one they were abandoned, their inhabitants for the most part taking refuge in the Jebel Druse to the east of the Hauran. There remain, however, within sight of Esfia, fourteen Druse villages on the southern slopes of the northern hills of Galilee, and their Sheikhs pay annual visits to their brethren on Carmel. It is manifest that the Crusaders had military posts on the mountain, and built their forts with the materials which a bygone population had left behind them, leaving their own traces in the carvings which bear evidence of the Crusading period. The fragments of columns, carved capitals, and architectural remains still to be found, prove that Roman civilisation once had a foothold here, while the remarkable Jewish vestiges till lately existing at Khurbet Semmaka (see "Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 318), and the quantities of tombs with which the hill-sides near some of the Khurbets are honeycombed, give evidence of the large Jewish population by which it was inhabited from a remote antiquity.

I spent two months last summer at Esfia, which according to the Survey has an altitude of 1,742 feet above the sea, and found the difference between its temperature and that of Haifa quite sufficient to justify its selection as a summer resort, the thermometer between the middle of July and the middle of September rarely rising above 80° in the house in the middle of the day, and usually falling to 70° at night in the tents. It was during this period that I made the excursions in the neighbourhood, the notes of which are contained in the following pages. I have thought it best to make sketches of all the devices and carvings that I found, as they may possess a value of which I cannot judge so well as those more learned in matters of antiquarian and archæological research. The names of the Khurbets which are not marked in the map I have given in Arabic.

Khurbet Dubil.—These remains cover a larger area than any others which I have visited, and would seem to indicate a place of importance. They crown an eminence in the neighbourhood of Dahlieh, and are marked in the Map (Sheet 5, J *i*). Many of the stones, of which the walls still standing, to a height of 8 or 10 feet, are composed, measure 4 feet by 2½ feet by 18 inches; while some, which had evidently been lintels or jambs for doors, measured from 7 to 10 feet in length, by 4 feet in breadth, and 2 feet in depth. On one of these, measuring 9 feet in length, was the following device :—

From a smaller one I copied another piece of ornamentation :—

I also found, almost concealed by thick brushwood, what at first sight appeared to have been a chamber hewn out of the living rock. It had been roofed with four stone slabs, two of which had fallen in, measuring 12 feet by 3 feet by 18 inches in depth. The chamber was thus 12 feet square. The sides hewn from the rock were about 12 feet high, measuring from the rubbish which had accumulated, and which was covered by a dense undergrowth ; but it was probably originally much deeper.

I am now inclined to think that this excavation was originally a cistern, of which one side had been formed by a wall, the stones of which have since been carried away. I also found two upright stones, about 4 feet apart, and 3½ feet high, and on the face of each had been cut two slots, 6 inches wide at the top, 9 inches at the bottom, 2 inches deep, and 2 feet long ; in the centre of each was a hole 3 inches square, perforating the entire stone, of which an illustration is given below. These were probably the bases

upon which were fixed upright posts, which supported an olive-crushing apparatus. Also two large nether millstones, 6 feet in diameter, perforated in the centre by a hole 8 inches square. I found another of these on which half of the upper stone was still lying, which was 4½ feet in diameter, and 18 inches thick. Scattered among these ruins were several rollers similar to those discovered by the Survey at Khurbet Semaka, and which are thus described : "They are of limestone, about 3 feet in diameter and 7 feet long. There are on the sides four vertical lines of sunk grooves, four or five grooves in each line. It was supposed that these columns, which

weigh about two tons (taking 2·7 as the specific gravity of the stone) were used for crushing olives." ("Memoirs," Vol. I, page 318.)

There were also many cisterns and tombs. I visited a number of the latter, of which the following were the most worthy of notice :—

One with two chambers 7 feet square, the inner chamber containing two loculi ;

One, 15 feet square, with four kokim on each side, and two loculi with arcosolia. At the entrance to this cave was a circular stone, like a millstone, which moved in a groove, and which, with a little clearing away of the rubbish, might have been rolled across the square entrance, which is still half closed ;

A large cave, 20 feet square and 7 feet high, containing four kokim, two loculi, partially destroyed, and a small pit, about 6 feet deep, and 3 feet square ;

A tomb, with nine kokim, three on a side ;

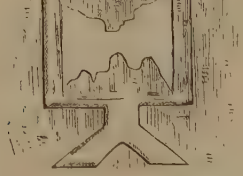
A tomb, with six kokim and a loculus ;

A tomb, with seven kokim and a loculus ;

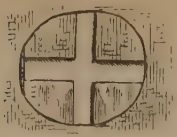
A tomb, the handsomest of all, with five loculi, the sides high like those of sarcophagi ;

besides many others of less interest, and in a less perfect condition.

Khurbet Duweimin (Sheet V, J *h*).—These ruins are of great extent, and are so much overgrown that they are difficult of examination. I found, however, one sarcophagus and two sarcophagi lids ; a fragment of a column erect, 3 feet high and 2 feet in diameter ; a fragment of a prostrate column of the same size ; two lintels in position across doorways, 7 feet by 2½ feet by 18 inches ; a stone slab, 6 feet by 2½ feet by 18 inches, which had been elaborately carved, but which was so weatherbeaten that it was impossible to make out the device which had been engraved on what appeared to have been a tablet in the centre, but of which the following is a drawing :—

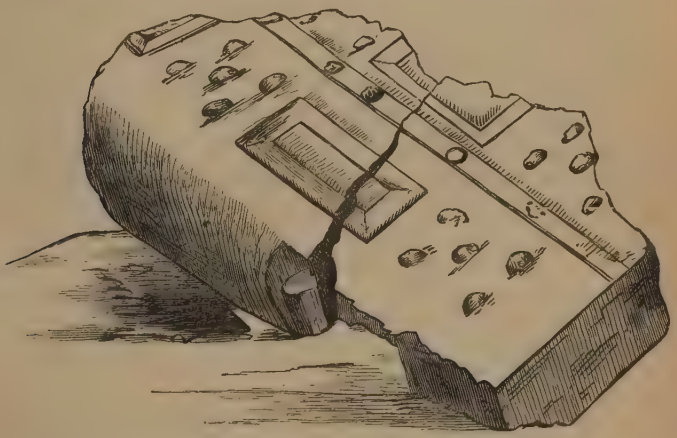


Two slabs, 7 feet long, each containing a carved circle 2 feet in diameter with a cross in the centre.



I found several cisterns, but only two tombs worthy of notice. One, entered by a flight of three steps, which contained four loculi, with arcosolia; and another, with a fragment of a slab, on which was a simple carving, which probably formed part of the door, containing three loculi, with arcosolia.

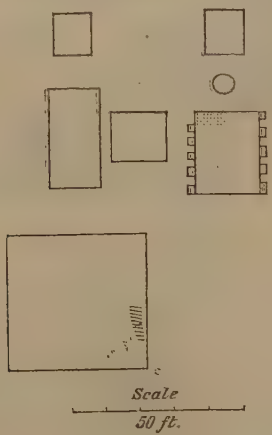
I have also visited several cave-tombs in the vicinity of Esfia, one containing eight kokim, and another with four. Near the former is also the slab which formed the doorway, carved thus :—



Khurbet 'Aleiya-eddîn عَلِيَّة الدِّين —This ruin is situated on a rising ground a few hundred yards to the left of the path from Esfia to the Mukkraka, at a distance of two miles and a half from the former place. It covers an area of about four hundred paces by three hundred, and consists of the usual remains of walls built of massive stones from 4 to 5 feet long by 2 or 3 feet wide, and 18 inches thick. Some of these walls are standing to a height of 12 or 14 feet, and in one of them is a window $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with sockets hollowed into the stone on both sides. I also found what appeared to have been the fragment of a column $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and 3 feet in length, but it may have been a round mass of

stone used for some other purpose, as there were no other similar fragments near it. There were also two circular stones 5 feet in diameter. In the centre of each was a hole 18 inches deep, which, however, did not penetrate the stones. As these were partially buried, I could not ascertain their thickness. The holes were 18 inches square, and 6 inches from the surface had been hollowed to a depth of 2 inches round two sides, making a sort of recess round these two sides a foot high and 2 inches deep. These stones were 30 or 40 yards apart; it is possible they may have formed part of an olive-press. About a hundred yards from this I found a millstone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and 18 inches thick, with a hole perforating it 8 inches square.

The most remarkable feature of these ruins was its cisterns and reservoirs. From the number and extent of these the population must have been entirely dependent upon them for its water supply. Besides nine large rock-hewn tanks, I counted twelve of the usual bell shape, with the small circular orifice. Over one cistern, 8 feet square, which was hewn out of the living rock, and was 10 feet deep to the *débris* with which it was probably now half filled, was an arch of seven stones, which averaged in size 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. This was evidently all that remained of an arched roof, and was the more interesting because it accounted for the niches in the side of a tank which I shortly after discovered. This cistern, which, like all the others, had been hewn from the solid rock, was 24 feet long by 20 feet wide, and on each side, on a level with the surface, were 5 niches, 3 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches across, and 15 inches deep. It is probable that it had been originally arched over, and that these were the sockets from which the



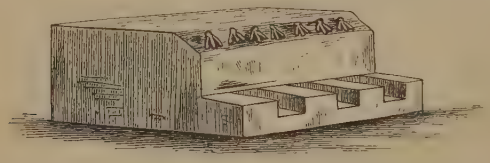
PLAN OF ROCK-HEWN CISTERNS AT ALEIYA-EDDIN.

arches sprung. This cistern, as well as the largest, had a flight of steps which led to the bottom, now filled with *débris* and overgrown with shrubbery, so that the actual depth can only be conjectured; of all the reservoirs in the system of which this formed one, and of which a sketch plan is given below, the largest was 40 feet square, roughly estimated, and its present depth is about 15 feet. The bottoms of all were thickly overgrown. The ledges by which they were separated were of solid rock. Three others of a similar character were scattered elsewhere over the rocky hill-side. I also found one tomb, 14 feet square, containing two kokim, and the entrances to several others which were too much choked to be accessible.

Esfia itself was evidently a Crusading post, for there are many stones built with the native houses on which are Crusading devices, and on one of them the machicolated stones of an old tower have been re-arranged with narrow arched windows divided by a small stone column. The village is situated on a summit about 200 feet above the copious spring, and the hills round it form an amphitheatre. This is the head of the Wâdy Shomariyeh. On the summit of one of these hills, about half-a-mile from the village, are the ruined walls of the Khurbet esh Shelkiyeh, marked on the map, where I found a couple of cisterns, but no remains of any interest, and on another summit, half-a-mile distant, on the range forming the northern side of the amphitheatre, are the more extensive and apparently more ancient ruins of Khurbet Shemaliyeh, الشمالية, where there were also some cisterns, a very ancient olive-press, some drafted stones, with sockets &c., and a tomb, the entrance to which was choked. There were, therefore, in old times, three small towns on the hills surrounding the spring, and all equi-distant from it. The hill-sides all round bear marks of terraces, and the whole of the amphitheatre must have been richly cultivated and a scene of great beauty, as, indeed, it is at present, for though the terraces are for the most part dilapidated, the valley round the spring is irrigated, and green with gardens and orchards of fruit trees. Among the spots of interest near Esfia is a singular cleft in the rocks, about a mile distant from it in a westerly direction, called the Crow's Nest, عقب عب. The sides of the limestone precipice are about 150 feet high, split by cavernous fissures, and the gloomy area below is covered by a dense undergrowth of jungle, into which the sun never penetrates. Another curious spot is "The Forty Trees" (Shejeret Arbam), a grove of magnificent old oak-trees near the Khurbet el Khureibeh (K *h*). There is a rude sort of altar cut in the rocks here, and the place has a certain character of sanctity connected with it, as tradition has it that forty Skeikhs were once murdered here, and that death would be the penalty of any attempt to tamper with these trees, as it is aleady said to have been in the cases of a man and his father, who began to cut one down. At Khurbet Khureibeh I found nothing of any interest beyond a small arched chamber, which may have been comparatively modern, though constructed with the old stones.

Khurbet Lubieh اللوبية.—This ruin is situated about a mile and a quarter to the east of El Mughrushah (marked on the map K *i*), on a lofty spur projecting into the Wâdy el 'Ain. It is a small ruin, and so overgrown as to be difficult of examination ; but the stones are large, and the place bears all the marks of great antiquity, and seems not to have been occupied in recent times. It would seem to have been a fortress, both on account of its position and from the fact that the outside walls, still standing in places to a height of 3 or 4 feet, are about 6 feet thick. It is approached on one side by terraces, somewhat similar to those at Rushmia. I observed here that some of the stones were drafted ; many had holes and sockets cut into them ; there was a fragment of a sarcophagus and a circular stone a foot high and 18 inches in diameter, with a hole in the centre 3 inches square by 4 inches deep, and another stone 3 feet 6 inches high, which had apparently been pointed standing alone in the centre of what seemed to have been a chamber ; and there were some choked-up tombs and cisterns, but I only found two stones on which was any carving. Upon one was the following device 6 inches square.

On another stone, 3 feet long, was a carved moulding which may have formed part of a cornice, such as those existing at Kades and elsewhere.

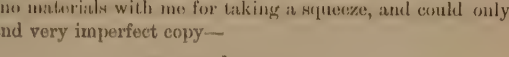


The high rocky summit near Lubeh is called the Jebel Sheikh, from the fact that the natives consider it the highest part of Carmel. On the right hand of the path leading from it to Shellaleh I observed the fragment of a column about 6 feet long.

Khurbet Shellaleh has been exhaustively described in the "Memoirs," also Sheet 5, J *h*. Its position on the abrupt cliff of a wild gorge is in the highest degree romantic.

Khurbet er Kakhtyeh (Sheet 5, J *h*).—This ruin bears all the marks of having been undisturbed from the most ancient times. There is a large circular cistern here, 82 paces in circumference, the upper coping of stones still remaining in parts. It was apparently an open cistern, and is the only one of the kind I have seen on the mountain. It was about 20 feet deep to the undergrowth on the *débris* at the bottom. I also observed three fragments of columns, one of a roller, with grooves, and a large olive mill, hewn out of the living rock, with vat for receiving the oil attached, besides the circular bases of two other mills, each 7 feet in diameter. In the rock cliff near this olive mill was a most interesting tomb, with an inscription much defaced, but of which the traces of the Greek characters

still remained on the rock over the doorway and under the arch; below it was a hexagonal device in a tablet 2 feet long by 1 foot broad, and on each side of the entrance were two circular devices. The traces of the red pigment which had been used in the inscription were still visible. I had, unfortunately, no materials with me for taking a squeeze, and could only make a rough and very imperfect copy—



Underneath which was the tablet—

The construction of the tomb inside differed from any which I have hitherto seen. The chamber was 8 feet by 6 feet 6 inches. On the right-hand side were three kokim; on the side opposite the entrance was one koka in the right corner; the rest of the side was made up of a loculus under an arcosolium, but behind it, so that you had to step over the loculus to get into it, was an oblong recess with a flat roof 7 feet 6 inches long, by 2 feet 6 inches broad, the entrance to which was 3 feet high by 2 feet 6 inches broad, but the rock had been grooved so as to admit of a door, and on the upper right-hand corner was a socket into which the pivot for a stone slab had evidently been fitted. On the left side was a single loculus the whole length of the chamber under an arcosolium. The whole was in good preservation, and the tombs had evidently been the possession of a family of position. I annex a plan.

The Arab who accompanied me to Khurbet Rakhtyeh, who was a peasant I picked up at Shellaleh, told me that according to native tradition both this ruin and Shellaleh had in former times been inhabited by Greek priests. I observe that in the "Memoirs" it is stated that an early Byzantine monastery possibly stood at the latter place. The inscription over the tomb would in all likelihood date from the same period.

The olive mill I found here is the best specimen I have seen, though riding over the hills one day I came upon another almost as perfect in a secluded valley far away from any Khurbet. Indeed I have counted more than a dozen of these at the different Khurbets I have visited, and they evidence the extent to which olive culture was formerly carried on in Carmel. The method of grinding olives at the present appears to be identical with that of the earliest period, indeed in many cases the old stones are still used, though it is possible, as has been suggested in the "Memoirs," that the huge stone rollers were used for expressing the oil afterwards in default of the modern upright wooden screw apparatus.

Khurbet el Kerek (Sheet 5, K *i*).—These ruins, which are beautifully situated on a southern spur of the range, are apparently very old. All I found here were two rollers, an olive-press 8 feet in diameter, with a raised rim 9 inches high—the first I have seen—and some large circular stones with the square hole in the centre, and the recess round two sides such as those already described. There were also some drafted stones with sockets, but I found no carving. A great many stones had not long since been removed for building purposes elsewhere. There was also a rock-hewn cistern, 12 feet square, with niches similar to the one at Ali-ed-dîn. On the road to Dahlieh, not far from here, my Arab pointed out to me an almost circular natural fissure in the rock, evidently not a well or cistern, though there was some masonry round the mouth, which by throwing lighted paper down I judged to be about 60 feet in depth, from which, according to native tradition, fire had at one time issued accompanied by loud reports like thunder-claps.

Khurbet Duweibeh (K *i*).—The ruins of the walls here were those of the last Druse inhabitants who had used the ancient stones. I observed a millstone built into the wall. Some of the old door jambs, with sockets, were still *in situ*. A large oblong vat like a sarcophagus, hewn out of the living rock, which I take to have been a wine-press, from the arrangements made for the juice to escape, and three rollers lying together, complete the objects of interest. Near the road from here to Esfia is another wine-press, 9 feet square and 8 feet deep, hewn out of the living rock.

Tempted by the account of a stone-mason of extensive caverns existing at a place called Naghnaghiyeh, النغنغية, I found, on my arrival, that it was none other than the hill marked Tell el Aghbariyeh (Sheet 8, J *l*). It consists of two limestone hills, which are honeycombed with natural caverns. They were only interesting as having at some former period served as dwelling-places. One, 18 feet square and 7 feet high, was plastered with cement, as was also a solid column in the middle, 3 feet 6 inches square. There was a sort of cornice running round the floor, and

an aperture at the back leading through to the hill above, apparently for the escape of smoke. There were several other caves bearing traces of cement and occupancy.

Khurbet Medineh.—This ruin is on the slope of the smaller of the above hills. Here were a pair of stones 3 feet high and 2 feet thick, each with a hole 5 inches square perforating the whole thickness, with a groove on each 4 inches broad and 3 inches deep, running the whole length of the stone. Also one in which was a hole 6 inches square and 6 inches deep, and on the other side of the stone was a groove 1 foot 6 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 8 inches deep, the uses of which I am unable to conjecture. There were also cisterns and tombs with choked entrances. Near the hill crowned by the Khurbet Beit Ras, is another hill, on the top of which is also a ruin, called the Khurbet Abu Lehieh, at the head of the wâdy of that name, but I had not time to visit either of them. There were also some singular caves above the 'Ain Abu Zereik, marked on the map (Sheet 8, L *j*), which I propose at some future time to examine. About half an acre of ground is here covered with holes like the bell-shaped mouths of cisterns, but they are only a few yards apart, and are between thirty and forty in number. They appear designed to let light into an immense cavern beneath, but I had no time to explore it.

Khurbet Semmaka and *Umm esh Shukf* (Sheet 5, J *i*) have both been so fully described in the "Memoirs" that only a few words are necessary. In regard to the former, it is most fortunate that it has been the subject of a minute examination by the Survey ten years ago, for the door of the synagogue, which made it the most interesting ruin on Carmel, has now been removed, together with most of its stones, by the inhabitants of Umm es Zeinat. There is only a fragment of the door jamb, about 3 feet high, remaining. The walls, columns, and most of the foundations are all gone. On the steep slope of the Wâdy Nahel to the west, I found two specimens of tombs in a very perfect state of preservation. On each side of the entrance to one was this simple device, representing a seven-branched

candlestick. A recess, covered by a single arch, contained three loculi, two parallel ones, and one across the end. On the right side, under an arcosolium, were two more loculi. The other was larger and handsomer, and the angles of the roof and the edges of the loculi were almost as sharp as if it had just been finished. It contained two recesses, each with three loculi with high sides, under arcosolia, and on the third side a seventh

loculus with arcosolium. The Wâdy Nahel is the finest and most romantic gorge in Carmel, and the scenery here equals anything I have seen in Western Palestine.

Umm esh Shukf was formerly a Druse village, but the great quantities of pieces of tesselated pavement and glass fragments strewn about give evidence of occupation under conditions of Roman civilisation. Besides the tombs described in the "Memoirs" was one higher up the valley, containing three loculi with arcosolia, and on the doorway under the arch this device—

Khurbet Beistan.—Formerly a Druse village, a little lower down the wâdy. There are no remains here of any interest.

Khurbet Mansurah. (Sheet 8, K *j*).—This is a small ruin on the plateau about 500 feet below the Mukkraka. Nearly all the stones have been taken to build the Carmelite church on that site. The workmen engaged on the building told me that they found several with carving and devices, but that they had chipped them off in their stone-cutting operations, and they are now built into the walls.

Khurbet Umm Ahmed احمد ام.—This is somewhat an inaccessible ruin situated on an abrupt shoulder of a spur of the mountain between the Wâdy el Jemmadiyeh and the Tell el War (Sheet 5, K *i*), about 800 feet above the Kishon. It has evidently never been disturbed by dwellers since ancient times. There are a few large stones with socket-holes; two tombs with handsome entrances, but too much choked for examination; some cisterns, and natural caves. One of these I entered by an artificial archway 5 feet wide; from the circular cave to which it gave access, another archway opened over a deep slope of *débris*, which probably concealed steps into another natural cavern about 60 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 15 feet high. A circular hole similar to those used for cisterns was cut in the rock above, probably to let in light. I think these caves may possibly have been used for places of refuge. I observed on the soft bottom the recent tracks of a leopard. There is a difficult path skirting the side of the range, about midway between the top and the plain below, and which, running in a northerly direction, leads one in a mile and a half from this ruin under abutting cliffs to *Khurbet el Kalaat* القلعة, the ruin of the fortress. This is one of the most interesting spots in Carmel. The mountain here rises almost precipitously from the Kishon to a height of about 800 feet, when it forms a ledge on a projection from which is an abrupt castellated-looking mass of rock. On the side facing the plain the rock rises precipitously from the slope to a height of about 50 feet; a little below it is a large natural cave; on the opposite side

of that facing the mountain an artificial defence has been raised by placing huge natural boulders one above another in three tiers. No attempt has been made to shape these; they have evidently been placed in the position they occupy by a very ancient race. Each stone must weigh from two to three tons, and they have been so arranged as to enclose half the circumference of what was a stronghold of the most remote antiquity. The area thus enclosed behind this barricade of rocks was 150 yards in circumference, and was a position of commanding strength. At the edge of the slope, and attached to the fort, was a rock-hewn cistern about 20 feet by 30 feet, but it would scarcely seem likely to have been the handiwork of those who had piled these huge natural stones on each other. I regret that in the fading light I had not time to make a sketch. In close contiguity were the massive stones that had formed the quarters probably of the garrison, for they were few in number; but about 300 yards distant were the more extensive ruins of an ancient village. I observed no drafted stones among those strewn around, though in one place the walls still remained two or three stones high, and I saw one stone which had been carefully shaped and hollowed out, making a bowl 18 inches in diameter and 9 inches deep.

Khurbet Zahluk lies about half-way between this place and Leijet Zahluk (marked on the map). There are some tombs and cisterns here, but nothing of interest.

This completes the list of Khurbets which I have visited, but there are still a few others on the mountain which I shall endeavour at some future time to examine. In conclusion, I would wish to say a few words in regard to a subject which has been a good deal discussed. I mean the supposed site of the Altar of Elijah. There can be no question that it was *not* on the position popularly assigned to it, known as the Mukkraka, or "place of burning," where the Carmelites are now erecting their church, for this spot is in full view of the Mediterranean from Tantura to Cesarea; and it would have been quite unnecessary for Elijah to tell his servant to "go up and look towards the sea," for there was no higher point to go up to, and he could see the sea himself. The late Dean Stanley has therefore put it down on the plateau on which the Khurbet Mar surah stands, and near which is the well of the same name; but I think there is a more likely position than this to which my attention was called by a pile of stones which, curiously enough, has all the appearance of an altar to this day. A mile before reaching the "place of burning," concealed almost in a thicket of underwood, about 50 yards from the path from Esfia on the left-hand side, stands a singular pile of flat stones, each averaging 18 inches square, and 8 or 9 inches thick, which, placed on one another without cement, make a rude table about 12 feet long and 4 feet high. The breadth varies, as they have been broken away; but there is a large artificial slab about 6 feet square lying at the base. Though I do not for a moment mean to imply that this was the original altar, the unusual shape and position of this pile suggests that it may have been the result of some sacred tradition with the Biblical event, for the locality would exactly

fulfil all the conditions of the incident. From it the ground swells back and upwards in every direction, so that a vast host of people might have been assembled around, and witnessed whatever was transpiring here ; a ten minutes' walk would have taken Elijah's servant to the top of the hill on which stands the Khurbet Duweibeh, from which the sea is plainly visible. Water in any quantity, even at that time of drought, could have been supplied from the tanks at Khurbet Ali-eddîn, also only ten minutes' distant, a plan of which I have already given ; and we are told that twelve barrels of water were used. Within a hundred yards of this pile the present path passes down the Wâdy el Jennadyeh, and at the bottom of it is Tell el Kussis ("The Hill of the Priests"), the traditional site of the massacre. Again, this must have been in the centre of the most populous part of the mountain. Indeed, it is difficult to realise now the extent of the population which must in those days have inhabited the south-eastern angle of Carmel. The best idea of it can be formed from the fact that within a radius of two miles and a half from this pile of stones there are, including Esfia, which is doubtless an ancient site, no fewer than twelve Khurbets or ruins of ancient towns and villages on the various hill-tops and mountain spurs which surround it. Here, then, are all the conditions required to satisfy the Biblical narrative, and to support the hypothesis that the events recorded—which certainly could not have taken place at the site generally assigned to them without involving contradiction—occurred rather on the plateau a mile distant, which is surrounded by so many of the villages of the mountain to which "all Israel" was summoned, rather than to the more limited space half-way down the mountain on the other side, where water was scarce, and the opportunity of witnessing the scene that was transpiring was less favourable.

LAWRENCE OLIPHANT.

RECENT BIBLICAL RESEARCH IN PALESTINE, SYRIA, AND ASIA MINOR.

(*A paper read at the Reading Church Congress, October 3rd*, 1883.)

By Colonel Sir C. W. WILSON.

THE most important features of recent Biblical research in Palestine are the discovery of the Siloam Inscription, and the survey of a portion of the country east of Jordan, by Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., for the Palestine Exploration Fund. The Siloam Inscription, found accidentally in the rock-hewn channel which conducts the water of the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam, records the meeting of the workmen, and the completion of the channel. Its value for philology

and epigraphy is very great, for it not only gives us a form of the Phœnician alphabet of a very early date, and closely resembling that of the Moabite Stone, but brings before us the Hebrew language as it was spoken in the age of the Kings. Professor Sayce, who remarks on the Biblical character of the language and the occurrence of Old Testament idioms in the inscription, assigns it to some date between the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., and Professor Neubauer has suggested that the channel was cut in the reign of Ahaz.

The expedition of Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell was brought to a premature end by the refusal of the Porte to grant a firman, but not before 500 square miles of country had been surveyed, and plans, drawings, and photographs procured of the principal places of interest. The district examined included Jebel Neba, Mount Nebo, so that we have now detailed plans of the spot whence Moses took his final view of the Promised Land; the plains of Moab on which the Israelites encamped before crossing Jordan, and where, in all probability, the cities of the plain were situated; and the heights from which Balaam looked down on the people he was called upon to curse. It is extremely interesting to find the name Zophim, under the form Tal'at es Sufa, "ascent of Zuph," still lingering on the slopes of Mount Nebo; and no less so to find groups of rude stone monuments near the sites upon which Baalam, probably, erected his three altars. These cromlechs have been noticed by Irby and Mangles, De Saulcy, Duc de Luynes, Dr. Tristram, and other travellers, but until the recent survey no one was aware of the great number of them scattered over the country east of Jordan, or of the remarkable manner in which they are grouped round certain centres. The survey confirms the identification of Ashdoth Pisgah with the "Springs of Moses," and throws much light on many obscure Biblical sites in the vicinity of the Dead Sea; but for these points, and also for an accurate description of the view from the summit of Nebo, I must refer you to the interesting work recently published by Captain Conder, under the title of "Heth and Moab." The results of the survey are so valuable that its abrupt termination is a matter for unfeigned regret.

Before crossing the Jordan, Captain Conder made an excursion from Beirût in search of the great Hittite city of Kadesh, on the Orontes, and believes that he discovered it in Tell Neby Mendeh, on the south slope of which there are ruins still called Kades. Until the last few years the Hittites were only known to us as one of the tribes inhabiting Palestine at the time of the conquest, but recent discovery has shown them to have been a powerful kingdom, or, perhaps more rightly, a confederation of small states, able to hold their own against the great monarchies of Egypt and Assyria, and exercising a widespread religious influence, if not dominion, over the people of Asia Minor. In the time of Abraham the power of the Hittites appears to have extended to the southern limits of Palestine; it is from Ephron the Hittite that he buys the cave of Machpelah, and the bargain is confirmed "in the audience of the children of Heth;" so too it is to the same children of Heth that

he "bows himself down," an obsequiousness which indicates clearly that they were the ruling race. At the time of the conquest there is a marked change; during the interval the Hittite power in Palestine had been weakened by the campaigns of Thothmes III, Rameses I, Sethi I, and Rameses II; and the Hittites re-appear as a people inhabiting Syria and Northern Palestine, or the country from "Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates." This decline of Hittite power in the south was followed, apparently, by the rise of the Amorites, a kindred Hamitic race, and by the formation of numerous petty kingdoms, which were never able to form a coalition sufficiently strong to resist the onward march of the compact Israelite force under the leadership of Joshua. The Amorites seem to have spread themselves over a large portion of Palestine; the Kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon were Amorite; Sihon and Og, after driving out the Ammonites and other peoples, established Amorite kingdoms east of Jordan, and even Kadesh on the Orontes is said to have been an Amorite city, under the jurisdiction of the Hittites, during the reign of Sethi I.

While the conquest of Palestine was being effected by Joshua, the Hittites appear only as the allies of Jabin, King of Hazor, and during the stormy period of the Judges which followed, they are mentioned only as one of the tribes with whom the Israelites intermarried, and as having afforded shelter to the traitor who betrayed Bethel into the hands of the children of Joseph. During the earlier portion of this period occurred the remarkable invasion of Syria by the European nations who, after subduing the Hittites, advanced on Egypt, and were defeated by Rameses III in Southern Palestine; and there are traces of another disturbance, from which the Hittites probably suffered as much as the Jews, in the conquests of Chushan Rishathaim of Mesopotamia, who held Palestine for eight years. After this the Hittites regained some of their lost power, and in the reign of Tiglath Pileser I, who died 1100 B.C., they were paramount in Northern Syria; that monarch defeated a powerful combination of Hittite tribes, amongst whom the Muski, Karkiya, and Urumiya, were the most important, and subdued the whole country as far as the Mediterranean, upon which he embarked in a ship of Aradus. From this blow the Hittites never fully recovered, and they were soon afterwards forced northwards by the expansion of the Hebrew and Syrian monarchies, which rose to importance during the period of Assyrian decline that followed the death of Tiglath Pileser's son Samsiovul. Carchemish henceforward takes the place of Kadesh, as the centre of Hittite influence, and Hamath appears as a small Hittite state—first in alliance with David, and afterwards as tributary to Solomon, who built store-cities there. On the death of Solomon, and the break up of his empire, Hamath recovered its independence, and the Hittites regained something of their former power; this did not, however, last long, for they and their allies were signally defeated by the Assyrian Kings Assurnazirpal (885–860 B.C.) and Shalmanezer II (859–824 B.C.). From the latter date the history of the Hittites, as gathered from the Assyrian records, is one of constant revolt

and cruel repression, until the final overthrow by Sargon, who took Carchemish 717 B.C., led the people away captive, and appointed Assyrian governors over the country. The most striking events of this period are the three years' siege of Arpad by Tiglath Pileser II, and the same monarch's campaign against the King of Hamath and his ally Azariah, or Uzziah, King of Judah.

Little is known of the Hittite power in Asia Minor; it was probably at its height in the fourteenth century B.C., but must have been profoundly shaken by the great victory of Rameses II at Kadesh, which, according to the striking epic of the contemporary court poet Pentaur, broke "the back of the Khita for ever and ever." The tendency of such a defeat must at any rate have been to weaken the influence of the Hittites over the Mysians, Lycians, Dardanians, and other tribes of Western Anatolia, who fought with them on that occasion. It would appear, from the Assyrian records, that the Hittites gradually split up into a number of independent tribes or states, such as the Cilicians, Moschians, Tibarenians, Comanians, the people of Commagene, and others, who are mentioned in the annals of the wars of Sargon and his successors; the final extinction of their power, however, appears to have been due to the inroads of the Cimmerians and Scythians, and they afterwards formed part of the Median empire, which extended to the Halys. So complete was their overthrow that even their distinctive name was lost, and they appear in Herodotus and Strabo as Leuco-Syrians, Cappadocians, Cataonians, &c. The widespread influence of the Hittites may, however, be gathered from their monuments: the inscriptions on the monument at Karabel, the Sesostris of Herodotus, on the old road from Sardis to Ephesus, and near the Niobe, in the Valley of the Hermus, show that they penetrated to the Ægean, and there are certain indications that Sardis was once in their hands. The next monuments are those at Giaour Kalessi, between Sivrihissar and Angora, and then follow the interesting remains at Boghazkeui, near Yuzgat. The ruins at Boghazkeui, of which Herr Humann, so well known from his excavations at Pergamos, made a plan last year, are quite unlike those of an ancient Greek city; they cover a wide extent of ground, and have more in common with cities like Babylon and Nineveh than with the typical Greek city gathered round its acropolis. The walls are still standing to a considerable height, and there are underground means of exit which offer several interesting features; there are also the foundations of a large temple, constructed of massive stones jointed together in a peculiar manner, and a long inscription in which, though almost obliterated, several Hittite symbols are distinctly visible. The rock sculptures, of which casts were taken by Herr Humann, are a series of religious representations with Hittite symbols above the gods and goddesses; the majority of the figures are female, and amongst them are twelve of the armed Amazons who played such an important part in the religious worship of Asia Minor. In one figure can be recognised the "effeminate character, the soft outlines, the long sweeping dress, the ornaments of the eunuch high priest of

Cybele ;" and in another the warlike goddess Cybele. Not far from Boghazkeui are the ruins of Uyuk, with the curious sphinxes, which, though made after an Egyptian model, differ widely from the Egyptian type. Uyuk is interesting as the only instance of what may be called a Hittite mound building in Anatolia, and shows us that, contrary to the practice in Assyria, the Hittites placed their sculptures so as to face outwards. To this peculiarity of construction is probably due the almost universal selection of trachyte or basalt for the sculptures instead of a softer stone ; the only exception is, I believe, at Jerablûs, where some of the slabs are of limestone. In Pontus there are traces of Hittite art in two small slabs, which I found at Kaisariych, but which came originally from the neighbourhood of Amasia. At Iflatûn Bûnar, near the Lake of Beischehr, there is a large monument of Hittite origin ; and at Ivriz, near Eregli, there is a well-preserved rock-hewn monument, representing a thanksgiving to the god who gives fertility to the earth. "The god is a husbandman, marked as giver of corn and wine by his attributes ; and the gorgeous raiment of the suppliant priest, praying for a blessing upon the country and people, is purposely contrasted with the plain garments of the god." The god wears the very dress still used by the peasantry of Anatolia ; the high-peaked cap is still in use among some of the Kurdish tribes ; the tunic fastened round the waist by a girdle is the present loose garment with its *kummerbund ;* and the tip-tilted shoes are the ordinary sandals of the country, with exactly the same bandages and mode of fastening. The sandal is very like the Canadian mocassin, and the long bandage wound round the foot and ankle is the equivalent of the blanket sock ; it is the best possible covering for the foot in a country where the cold in winter is intense, and the snow lies on the ground for a long period ; and as it appears on all Hittite monuments, I think, it is an evidence of the northern origin of the Hittites. It is interesting also to notice that some of the patterns on the priest's dress have not yet gone out of fashion amongst the Cappadocian peasantry. At Bor, between Eregli and Nigdeh, Mr. Ramsay, whilst travelling with me last year, discovered a new inscription which, unlike all Hittite texts hitherto known, is incised, and not in relief ; near the silver mines in the Bulghar Dagh is another inscription, and at the mouth of a curious gorge close to Gurun, near the head waters of an arm of the Euphrates, I found two others. It is, however, south of the Taurus, between that range and Aleppo, and eastward to the Euphrates, that the most numerous traces of the Hittites are to be found ; near the eastern extremity of the Bagtché Pass, by which Darius crossed Mount Amanus, when he came down in rear of Alexander's army before the battle of Issus, I visited a large mound on which a long row of Hittite sculptures, representing a hunting scene with great spirit, was standing *in situ ;* here, as at Uyuk, facing outwards ; a few miles beyond, on the road to Aintab, I saw other sculptures taken from one of the mounds. The district between the Giaour Dagh (Amanus) and the Kurt Dagh contains a large number of mounds ; in a small area I counted eight, which I feel sure would well repay exca-

vation. The slabs are all small, and could be easily conveyed to the coast, but, unfortunately, the British Museum has not seen its way to excavate; and the question is now, I believe, being taken up by the Germans. At Marasch, near the foot of the Taurus, several Hittite slabs have been found, and between Aintab and Aleppo, and towards the Euphrates, there are many large mounds, evidently of Hittite origin, including Tell Erfad, Arpad, and Azaz, the Khazaz of the Assyrian monuments. Several slabs have reached this country from Jerablûs, but the excavations at that place, owing to want of skill and inexperience, have not been so fruitful in their results as might have been expected. Jerablûs is generally identified with Carchemish, but unless a distinct statement is found in the Assyrian inscriptions that that city was on the Euphrates, I would place it at Membij, the ancient Hierapolis, a site which impressed me more than any other I visited west of the Euphrates. Hittite inscriptions have also been found at Aleppo and Hamath, and I think the slab obtained for the Palestine Exploration Fund from Tell Salhiych, near Damascus, is also Hittite.

A few words may now be said of the origin, religion, language, &c., of the Hittites. I fully agree with Professor Sayce in considering that the Hittites of Northern Syria and Palestine were intruders, and that they came from the Anatolian plateau east of the Halys, which was occupied by Hittite tribes from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. This view of their northern origin is supported by their physical appearance, as depicted on the monuments, by the mocassin sandal already noticed, and by the fingerless glove, which is still commonly used by the peasantry, and is found in all cold countries. The sculptures show that the Hittites did not belong to a Semitic race. The features are rather those of a Northern people, and on the Temple of Abusimbel the Khita have a very Scythic character, with shaven head and a single lock from the crown. This peculiarity in the mode of dressing the hair is not seen on the Hittite monuments, but at Karnak and Thebes I noticed figures with the same type of feature as those on the monuments in Anatolia. It would be very interesting, and I hope it may be done some day, to obtain casts of the various types of face represented in the war pictures of Rameses II; they are very varied, and a careful comparison could not fail to be of value. Amongst some pottery dug up at Tarsus about thirty-five years ago, is a head, which seems to have been a likeness of a Hittite, as it gives the full lips, and the large thick nose, with a sharp curve at the end, which is found on the monuments. The type, which is not a beautiful one, is still found in some parts of Cappodocia, especially amongst the people living in the extraordinary subterranean towns which I discovered last year beneath the great plain north-west of Nigdeh. The religious belief of the Hittites, and its influence on the people of Western Anatolia, and through them on the Greeks, has been described, as far as it is known, in papers by Professor Sayce and Mr. Ramsay. I would only suggest now, as a subject for examination, how far the peculiar religious rites and observances at the two Comanas were of Hittite origin; at each place the priest was at least co-ordinate with the king in rank and religious power,

as appears to have been the case with the Hittites; and at Amasia the most magnificent tomb is that of a high priest. I do not know whether there was any peculiarity in the faith professed by the early Christians of Cappadocia, but it may be more than a mere coincidence that the country between Boghazkeui and Comana Pontica is inhabited by an indigenous people who, nominally Moslems, profess a religion which, as far as I could learn, approaches more nearly that of the Ansariych than any other. That the Hittites had made considerable progress in art is attested by their monuments, and we may infer from the fact that, before the Cimmerian invasion, Sinope was one of the principal outlets for the produce of the East, that they were a commercial people; the trade route seems to have passed through the Cicilian gates to Kaisariych, and thence by Boghazkeui to Sinope. It would appear from the proper names on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language; the language was probably that of the Leuco-Syrians and Cataonians, and allied to the "speech of Lycaonia" which was in use in the time of St. Paul; and it possibly lingered on until the complete Hellenisation of the people under the Byzantine Empire. Little progress has yet been made in decyphering the inscriptions, but there is every reason to hope that success will attend the efforts of Professor Sayce and other workers in that direction, and we shall then have a flood of light thrown upon a people with whom the Israelites at one time intermarried, whose religion some of them adopted, and with whose history that of the Jewish monarchy was, on several occasions, intimately connected.

In conclusion, I would draw your attention to an expedition which the Palestine Exploration Fund is sending to the East this month. The expedition will be under the guidance of the distinguished geologist, Professor Hull, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland; Captain Kitchener, who has done good work in Palestine, will be associated with him, and pay special attention to topographical questions; Professor Hull will be accompanied by three gentlemen, who will devote their attention to special branches of science. The object of the expedition is, in the first place, to obtain a conclusive report on the geology of the Dead Sea basin, which has such an important bearing on the site of the Cities of the Plain; in the second, to determine the route followed by the Israelites after they left Sinai, and the pass by which they ascended to the desert of the Tih; in the third, to try and recover the sites of Elath and Eziongeber; in the fourth, to search for Kadesh-barnea, and determine the southern boundary of the Promised Land, and the boundary of Edom; and lastly, to examine the geology of Palestine itself. If but one or two of these objects can be thoroughly accomplished, a great addition will be made to our knowledge of the topography of the Bible. The Palestine Exploration Fund, and its system of working, is now well known, and I would only here express a hope that liberal subscriptions may be forthcoming to support an expedition which I confidently recommend to the notice of every student of the Bible.

THE NAMELESS CITY, AND SAUL'S JOURNEY TO AND FROM IT.

I AM thankful to Mr. Birch for his kind notice of my difficulties in regard to his paper on this subject.

I should, however, still like to add some remarks on a few of the points touched on in his reply.

As to that numbered (2) by Mr. Birch, I quite see that the words of 1 Samuel ix, 4 and 16, do not absolutely *prove* that the city was *not* in Benjamin; though, if that is not their meaning, they equally lack sufficient force to justify Mr. Birch in thinking that it was "certainly in the land of Zuph."

I argued, from the natural use of the words "passed through," "came to," and "out of," that the place thus spoken of was most probably *not* in Benjamin. For example, to tell a person in Plymouth, just over the border (the river Tamar) between Cornwall and Devon, that some one was coming to him "out of Cornwall" would be the most natural way of expressing the fact, if the person spoken of had just "passed through Cornwall."

But to tell a person at Saltash (just within the county of Cornwall) that one would be sent to him "out of Cornwall," would not be understood except it were supposed to mean that the individual was a *native* of Cornwall, as in this case Saul was of Benjamin.

If this, however, was all that was meant, the ordinary mode of expressing it we should expect to be "a Benjamite," or "a man of Benjamin."

But connecting the two statements that Saul and his servant had "*passed through* the land of the Benjamites," and that Samuel was to have a man *sent him* "out of the land of Benjamin," I venture to think that the presumption is very strong that Samuel's city was *not* in the "land of Benjamin," or of "the Benjamites."

The question here arises, however, does the "land of Benjamin" of the 16th verse mean the same as the "land of the Benjamites" of the 4th verse? The Bible Dictionary doubts whether the "land of Yemini" does mean the territory of the tribe of Benjamin. Perhaps that doubt may ere this have been cleared up.

I quite allow the force of the argument respecting David and the Cave of Adullam, if it can be proved that either the cave or the "hold" connected with it, and mentioned in 1 Samuel xxii, 1 to 5 (as well as in the passage given by Mr. Birch, and the parallel one in 1 Chron. xi, 1 and 16), was necessarily in Judah; but I would point out that in the Bible, so far as I can find, it is nowhere said that this was the case. And if the "hold" was in Judah, as allotted by Joshua (chap. xv, 35), will not the appearance in that chapter of the names of Gaza, Ashdod, and Ekron, which certainly were not in Saul's time in the *possession* of Judah, coupled

with the words of Josephus (VI, xii, § 4), that he was commanded to leave the *desert* and go into the *portion* of the tribe of Judah, make it very probable that the object of his departure was for him to go into the district inhabited by his own countrymen?

As to the narrative going back, I am sorry to say I fail to see the exact force of the statement in the passages referred to, especially as to I Samuel xx, 22, but would remark that the incident recorded in 1 Samuel ix, 5, is shown by its wording to have been the last occurrence prior to their seeking Samuel, and the whole of the subsequent narrative shows that they did not renew or continue their search for the asses.

(3), (6), and (8). Since I wrote, I find that Smith's Bible Dictionary advocates the claim of Zelah to be the home of Kish, and consequently the place whence Saul started, and to which he returned. As he was in his father's household when the asses were lost, and Gibeah is nowhere in Scripture connected with Kish, and only with Saul after he became king, this certainly seems preferable.

Unless, however, we accept the supposition that Zelah-ha-Eleph was part of Jerusalem, we are left in doubt regarding the situation of his actual starting-point, beyond the fact of its being within Benjamin, Zelah not having been otherwise identified.

And here I would ask whether this interpretation of Zelah, Eleph, and Jebusi, as being various parts of Jerusalem, does not satisfactorily reconcile the passages which speak of both Zelah and Jerusalem as connected with Saul's family, and explain why David took the head of Goliath to Jerusalem (1 Sam. xvii, 54), *i.e.*, because of its association with the king's family.

The route Sau was *commanded* to take in going home, ends with the Gibeah of God; for after that (verse 7) he is to "do as occasion serve," and in the *narrative* of his actual journey all details are omitted, both up to his arrival there, and also after it, if his uncle was living at that place.

No doubt the command to "go down to Gilgal" referred to a time after he had reached his father's home.

(9). I should very much like to know why Mr. Saunders draws Saul's route in the manner it appears on the O. T. Map, for I cannot understand it at all, and it seems to me that the particulars given in chapter ix, verses 4 and 5, will hardly allow of his having taken so extensive a journey. The time named, too, in verse 20, which I suppose *might*, according to Hebrew reckoning, mean only the day before yesterday (?), would indicate that their search was confined within a much more limited extent of country.

(11). My objection on this point was that as Elkanah lived at Ramah before the birth of Samuel, and Samuel passed his infancy there, it shows that Elkanah did *not* remove thither *after* the birth of Samuel.

As showing the identity of Samuel's birthplace and subsequent residence (after the taking of the Ark and the removal of the Tabernacle from Shiloh), I would remind Mr. Birch that although the Hebrew only uses

the form Ramathaim in the 1st chapter, the Septuagint names the city "Armathaim" throughout the narrative.

There being no direct statement on the points in Scripture, it is of course only by inference that it can be contended that Samuel's Ramah was *not* in Mount Ephraim, but *was* south of Jerusalem. Hence the great importance of 1 Samuel x, 2, and on this—

(12) I think Mr. Birch is somewhat unfair, both to Mr. Shapira and (especially) to the MS. quoted by him.

In the first place, it is not "Mr. Shapira's reading" on which I wished Mr. Birch's opinion, but that of the Arabic commentator.

It is true that Mr. Shapira, quoting, as he said, from memory, does not *exactly* reproduce the explanation of the passage as given in this MS.

In reply to my question, Dr. Hoerning, of the Department of Oriental MSS., very kindly informs me that the MS. in question "is in the British Museum. It was purchased in 1881, and is numbered Oriental 2387." What the author of the Commentary really says is simply this: "The prophet does not mean to imply that Rachel's sepulchre is at Zelzah. He only means that the two persons whom Saul is to meet at Zelzah are, at the time when he is speaking to Saul, *by* Rachel's sepulchre, and that Saul will find them at Zelzah, in the border of Benjamin, both having travelled at the same time as Saul to that place. According to this explanation the passage would have to be translated: 'Then thou shalt find two men, who are now by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah.'"

Practically, therefore, it is a tenable view of the passage, that Saul was not going to Rachel's sepulchre at all, but to Zelzah, where he should be met by two men coming from thence. There is nothing in this to require us to believe that there was a village at Rachel's sepulchre.

This verse is the main difficulty, and whether Zelzah is looked on as the name of a place, or signifies, as the Septuagint translates, that the two men were "leaping for joy," the *place* where Saul was to *meet them* was evidently in the border of Benjamin, another incidental proof that the city was not within that territory, for it is not likely that Saul's journey to his father's home (certainly *in* Benjamin) would lead him from within to the border.

(13). Though I cannot find any direct Scriptural statement which shows them to be different places, yet further study leads me to agree with Mr. Birch that the Ramah of Judges iv, 5 was not the same as Samuel's Town.

As to the expression used of the Benjamite Sheba, that he was a "man of Mount Ephraim," I would ask whether that expression proves any more than that he was a Benjamite who had gone to dwell in some part of Mount Ephraim, just as "Tola, a man of Issachar, dwelt at Shamir in Mount Ephraim," and further, whether the term in 1 Samuel i, 1, "of Mount Ephraim," is necessarily connected with Ramathaim-Zophim, showing that that place was *in* Mount Ephraim; or may it not apply simply to Elkanah? so that Mr. Birch's explanation, page 52, iii, 3, would be correct, rather than 5 or 6 (see page 53, line 10).

To conclude, then, I venture to suggest that the "Nameless City was Ramah = Ramathaim-Zophim; that it was a place outside the border of Benjamin; that it was so situated that just after leaving Ramah, Zelzah in the border of Benjamin would be reached, and the two men be met who had come from Rachel's sepulchre. Going on from Zelzah, the Oak of Tabor would be the place where Saul would meet the three men going up to God at Bethel (? the place, or simply the "house of God"). Next to this he would reach the "Gibeah of God," with the outpost (or pillar) of the Philistines, and after passing the city (? Kirjath-Jearim) would, on meeting the company of prophets descending from the "high place" (? where the Ark was), himself be filled with the spirit of prophecy likewise.

After this he goes to his native place Zelah, and Samuel subsequently calls the assembly at Mizpah, where Saul's election by lot takes place, and he then makes "Gibeah of Saul" his home henceforth.

I hope Mr. Birch will excuse my persistence in thus holding to some of my former views, and trust the discussion may be the means eventually of leading to a settlement of some doubtful points.

H. B. S. W.

September 25th, 1883.

EGYPTOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

(*An Address by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, late Vicar of Branscombe, at the Reading Church Congress.*)

The topic prescribed for me is "The bearing of Egyptology, in its most recent phase, on the Bible." I would first say this: that to show the bearing of Egyptology on the Bible is rather to prove, by innumerable small coincidences, that which Ebers has so well called the *Egypticity* of the Pentateuch, than to establish any particular historical point by external and monumental evidence. But that function of Egyptology is a very important one indeed. For instance, the life of Joseph is supported at every point in the strongest probability by the parallel between the Egyptian monuments and the record in the Bible. I will not, however, take up much of your time in arguments this evening. I would point out that in the main, roughly speaking, the Delta of the Nile is almost the Biblical Egypt. We have so little in the Bible beyond the Delta, that we may say that the Delta is almost the Egypt of the Bible. I will now take three points in the Delta. The first is that of the Biblical Zoan, the Sán of the present day, where the immense ruin-heaps are waiting to be explored. Here, already, the results of comparatively superficial examination by Mariette are so very important, in having recovered the sculptures

of the "Shepherd Kings," that we may expect something still more important from a thorough search of the ruins. The "Field of Zoan" of the Bible is called by the same expression in Egyptian records. The Field of Zoan was the scene of the great wonders which God performed by the hand of Moses. I do not think that Zoan is, as Brugsch supposes, the Zar of the Egyptian monuments. But now we will come to that point—to the place called Zar or Zaru on the Egyptian monuments, and here we come upon a very curious Biblical coincidence. In the 13th chapter of the Book of Genesis, where is described Lot's choice of the Jordan plain, it says: "The plain was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt as thou comest unto [when thou enterest] Zoar." But there is very strong reason for believing that these words should be read not "as thou comest into Zoar"—which is far away from the land of Egypt—but "when thou enterest Zar." [The Hebrew word *exactly* suits this.] And I want to say a word about that place Zar. It was a most important military point, for it was the place of starting for all the Egyptian expeditions into Syria during the great reigns of the Thothmes and Rameses Pharaohs. They started from "the fortress of Zar;" and there is still to be seen at Karnak that magnificent tableau which represents the triumphal return of Seti I from one of these expeditions. You can see the "Fortress of Zar," and the Pharaoh in his chariot, at the head of strings of captives who are being taken into bondage in the land of Goshen. The open portals of the fortress are to be seen, and the fortified points of the great military road from Syria; and this is very important, for it is surely connected with a discovery of the late lamented Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham. In a letter to me, in May, 1880, he said: "The road which I discovered to the south of that (viz., of Brugsch's route of the Exodus), running due east from Ismaïlia, will, I hope, have had a special interest for you, as the route of Abraham into Egypt. It is a very remarkable road, evidently much used in ancient times, and it is curious that it has remained unknown." Mr. Holland described his route in a paper read before the British Association, and reprinted in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for April, 1879. I hope this most important ancient road will not remain unknown much longer, for it ought to be very carefully surveyed. It is the road by which the fathers came into Egypt; the road at the termination of which, a little within that "Fortress of Zar," Joseph went to meet his father, with all the pomp of Egyptian monarchical grandeur, with his chariots and his escort; the road by which the great armies of Egypt went out upon their wonderful expeditions, which Sir Charles Wilson has referred to, against the Hittites and their other enemies; and therefore I say it is a road well worthy of being thoroughly surveyed. And I cannot help thinking that, since we know approximately the situation of that fortress of Zar, which was the key to the great military inlet to Egypt, by which our own troops so lately led our expedition to Cairo,—I cannot help thinking that if we were to put one thing and another together, we should find ourselves on the eve of very important results. The inlet of this ancient road must

needs be closely connected with the great military position in the strong eastern fortified wall of the ancient Pharaohs, the key to Lower Egypt, the Fortress of Zar, hitherto confused by Bible readers with Zoar in the passage I have quoted. And that discovery of the true Zar of Genesis xiii, which was made by the learned Dr. Haigh, in 1876, is taken for granted by Dr. Dümichen, in his important history, now in course of publication. That Zar is a place which should be carefully looked for. Now we will go a little further, about twelve miles along the land of Goshen along the line of the sweet-water canal, along the exact line of our recent military operations, and to the spot where I think the first engagement took place. We find there, at Tell-el-Maskhuta, the ruin-heaps and the ancient fortified walls of a most important place—one of the twin store-cities which were built by the Israelites for their oppressor, Rameses II. The venerable Lepsius distinguished himself, among many other achievements, by the identification of this place, upon apparently unassailable grounds, with Rameses. It has been taken for granted, and the railway station there is called "Ramsis." M. Naville, in the course of his excavations made there for the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, has found very important monumental evidences. I can give you a short account of his results, but I have not time to argue. I am perfectly aware that Dr. Lepsius still adheres to his original idea that Tell-el-Maskhuta was Rameses, and I have read his recent article in his *Zeitschrift* with the greatest attention. Now, M. Naville has found a very great and strong wall of circumvallation of that ancient fortress. It is built of crude bricks, enclosing a restricted area of about twelve acres, but those twelve acres are occupied in a strictly military manner by the magazines of a "store-city." These store-chambers are very interesting indeed. They had high walls, and were strongly built, and they had the peculiarity of being opened only at the top. There were no doorways, and no inlets at the sides, and that peculiarity entirely tallies with the well-known representations of Egyptian granaries and store-chambers given by Wilkinson and Rosellini. While this was a store-city, it was a sanctuary as well, according to the custom of the Egyptians. Like other towns, it had a twofold name, a religious and a civil name, as, for instance, our own Verulam is called St. Alban's. The secular name of this place was Seku or Sekut, *i.e.*, Succoth of the Bible. Let me remark that Brugsch has vindicated the sibilant pronunciation of the first Egyptian consonant, the well-known lasso-shaped hieroglyph, in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 8. It is, then, a most interesting fact that the secular name of this place was Succoth. I take this as proved, for it is established by the mention of Seku or Sekut twenty-two times in the inscriptions found there. There are the priests of the well-known setting-sun-god, Tum, of Sekut. And the sanctuary is called, fifteen times over, Pi-tum—the abode of Tum. If any one should question this, I will gladly give the references by which I think it is clearly established. Thus, it was the first halting-place of the Israelites in their exodus. And that is the first nail yet driven hard and fast in their route. We have had many theories and

contests, and an agreeable diversity of opinion, but from henceforth I believe that the theory of Brugsch, that the Pharaoh's host was swamped by the setting in of the waters of the Mediterranean in the Serbonian marsh, must be given up, and the old theory that the escaping tribes went along the valley of the sweet-water canal must be regarded as firmly established.

And now we are passing out of the region of vain conjectures into the region of historical realities.

There is another point. Tell-el-Maskhuta is not only the Pithom and the Succoth of the Bible, but a very interesting place, of which we read in the Septuagint version. When Joseph went to meet Jacob, and Judah was sent to meet Joseph on behalf of his father, the meeting-place was Heroöpolis. The identity of the spot is pointed out by Roman inscriptions there, with the name ERO, ERO CASTRA. The derivation of the name given by M. Naville is very interesting, namely, the Egyptian word "Ar," a storehouse, of which the plural is "Aru," identical with the Greek HPOY found on the spot. Thus the name is found, and the road is found, by which Jacob came and Judah went on before him. I may say besides that there is a very curious confirmation of the Biblical account of the work of bondage. The walls are very well built. The bricks are of Nile mud, and embedded in mortar, which, reminds us that the Egyptians "made the children of Israel to serve with rigour, and made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in *mortar* and in brick" (Ex. i. 14). There are three kinds of brick used, the first made with straw properly provided; the next are made with *reed* (the "stubble" of our Bible, and the word used is pure Egyptian, *Kush; arundo, calamus*); and the third kind are made of sheer Nile mud, when even the reeds were exhausted. All these M. Naville has found at Pithom.

I will only add a few words more in following the illustrious Engineer officer, Sir Charles Wilson, whom I am happy to see here in the interest of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and that is that I am a humble member of the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, not by way of rivalry, for I have been a local secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for many years. The one is the complement of the other. Sir Charles Wilson is himself on the committee of the Egypt Fund. I will therefore only make the shortest possible appeal, and ask, Is it not worth while to pay for pickaxes, to get at the wisdom of the Egyptians?

THE FORTRESS OF CANAAN.

In the last *Quarterly Statement* (Oct., 1883, p. 175) my friend Captain Conder, R.E., has made a very important and interesting identification (as it seems to me), viz., that of Khŭrbet Kan'ân, near Hebron, with the fortified post of Kanâna, taken by Seti I in his first year from the Shasu.

It is curious, indeed, that the renowned name of Canaan should be found alive only at this one spot. There is no difficulty in its site on the hills, for there were Canaanites dwelling in the hill country of that very region (Num. xiv, 45), even at Hebron itself (Judges i, 10), and one great Canaanite king had his headquarters at Arad (Tell-Arad), in the hills about sixteen miles south of Khŭrbet Kan'ân.

I do not think Seti's march lay through the "vicinity of Gaza," but by the other road through Beersheba. For we now know the starting-point, as well as the object of attack. Whether the Rebatha of Seti was Rehoboth, רחבות, may be doubted, for the name Rebatha lacks the radical ח, and more resembles a *Rabbath*. Can it be represented by Khŭrbet Râbûd (Sheet XXI, Name Lists, p. 401 ; "Memoirs," Vol. III, 360), where there are ruins, walls, and caves? Perhaps the pool or tank could hardly have been near ; but it is on the right road.

And now I may say something of the great military route followed by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties into Syria.

We must shake off the teaching of Brugsch as to his supposed identity of the great key-fortress of Tsar, or Tsaru, with Tsân (Zoan, Sân), and revert to his own former and right view. I gladly quote from the learned Dr. Haigh, whose labours have been too much overlooked (Zeitschr., f. äg. Spr. 1876, 54) :—"Here, therefore, he (Seti) enters Egypt at the close of his campaign, as hence he had set out at its commencement. It was, in fact, Egypt's eastern gate ; hence Thothmes III departed on his first expedition to Asia ; here . . . the Mahar began his foreign travels ; and the same place was . . . the gate of entrance for the Shasu on their way to the pools of Pi-tum. Its frontier character is still farther indicated by the text I have cited from Genesis xiii, 10 : 'The land of Egypt as thou enterest צער (Tsár) ; by its title 'the seal ;' and by its having the determinative sometimes of Egyptian, sometimes of foreign, places. Then Dr. Brugsch has cited a text which says that the canal which flowed through it connected the Nile with the water Aḳeb, and shown that this canal must be that which Pliny says flowed from the Nile through Babylon and Heroöpolis, and had received the name of Trajan, and may still be traced from the site of Babylon to the ruins of Mugfar, where it entered the Birket Timsah. Indeed, the identification of this place with the later Heroöpolis, and the Mugfar of to-day, seems to me to have been irrefragably established by Dr. Brugsch. Later, however, he has abandoned this strong position, and identified Tsár with צען (San), which can never have been the eastern gate of Egypt, and which stands on one of the channels of the Nile, not on a canal connecting the Nile with a lake." Dr. Dümichen has dealt decisively with this matter in his "Geschichte" (in Oncken's Collection), pp. 257, &c., concluding "that the identification of it with Tanis-Zoan, so strongly maintained by Brugsch, absolutely cannot be brought into accordance with the data found in the Egyptian texts as to its situation."

Now Heroöpolis has been found by M. Naville (not at Mugfar, indeed, but) about six miles further west than Mugfar, at Tell-el-Maskhuta. And

I think the ancient road found by the lamented Rev. F. W. Holland in 1879 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 59), "running" (as he wrote to me) "due east from Ismaïlia," and by which he was convinced that Abraham and Joseph and Jacob entered Egypt, was evidently the route of Thothmes III, and Seti I, and Râmeses II, to the Negeb; and, perhaps, of Aahmes I long before, when he chased the routed Hyksôs to Sharuhen; and probably of Amenemha I against the Seti, and still earlier of Pepi Meri-râ against the Herusha, whose name again occurs among the foes of Seti I. For let us remember the great antiquity of Tsar, or Tsaru. The treatise in praise of learning ("Records of the Past," VIII, 145) "is attributed," says Dr. Birch, "to the period of the twelfth dynasty; but the name of Pepi, the same as that of a monarch of the sixth dynasty, may indicate that it is of the earlier period." This curious treatise is "made by a person of Tsaru . . . to his son Pepi."

Now Tsán is as old as Pepi of the sixth dynasty (and was "built seven years after Hebron") and I little doubt that Tsar is of about the same high antiquity, and probably the work of the same founders; and it seems very highly probable that this great key-fortress stood where the ancient eastward road entered the Wâdy Tumilât. Is it out of hope that it may still be found, and monuments recovered bearing the name of Tsar?

I will not enlarge on this at present, since my purpose is just now to urge a further examination of the ancient road itself, strewn with flint flakes, among which Mr. Holland found "several beautifully-made arrow-heads." The splendid tableaux of Seti I at Karnak give the names of more than half-a-dozen halting-places, with forts and wells, or pools, on his route to Kanâna, and it may be hoped that some of these may be ascertained. We want a supplemental survey from Beersheba to the Suez Canal.

Dr. Haigh came to the conclusion that the fortress of Kanâna lay in the Arâbah south of the Dead Sea, and Brugsch seems to follow him in this ("Hist. of Egypt," Eng. ed., II, 13).

But now that Kanâna is found, we have much more to go upon; and Professor Palmer's journey in 1869 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1870, with map), and Mr. Holland's in 1879, with supplemental and more recent travels, such as Mr. Pickering Clarke's, recorded in the last *Quarterly Statement*, may help to make out the route of Seti to the Hebron region. The fortified watering-stations on this eastward route in Seti's tableaux bear mostly Semitic proper names, but unluckily some are surnamed with Pharaonic titles, which would soon be lost. The names recorded in the travels of the Mohar, some of them parallel with those of Seti's inscriptions, have been studied by the late M. Chabas ("Voyage d'un Egyptien," 1866), by Dr. Haigh, and by Captain Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 74) and doubtless more light will be thrown on them by future researches. The discovery of Seti's Kanâna should encourage such inquiry, as it distinctly limits the area of search when taken in connection with the ancient road, and the true position of Tsaru.

It is a remarkable thing that we find in the great Harris papyrus ("Re-

cords of the Past," VI, 34) to which Captain Conder refers, that Râmeses III, in whose time the Philistines established themselves strongly as his subjects in the south-west of Palestine, built a fortified temple at Kanâna, of which the god was "Amen of Râmeses hiq-An" (Râmeses III), whither the people of the land, the Rutennu, brought their tribute. This was probably in the time of the Judges, and it agrees well with the insolence of the Philistines towards the Hebrews at that time. The intimacy of the Philistines with the Egyptians, whose enemies, auxiliaries, and allies they were in rapid succession, is curiously let out in 1 Samuel iv, 8; vi, 6, where the Philistines and their diviners make familiar reference to the obstinacy of the Pharaoh and his counsellors, and the destruction of the Egyptian forces on the desert frontier.

We should not overlook the interesting point that like so many other ancient names, Kanâna seems to have travelled down from Northern Syria, where it is found in Assyrian records, as Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch remarks, and whence it seems to have extended as the well-known Biblical name Canaan to the whole coast-lands of the Mediterranean down to the Egyptian frontier. Here, then, is Kanâna in the hill-country west of the upper Euphrates, and the identical name as far south as Hebron, with the sons of Heth in both. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" 104, 270.)

Whether the name still lives in the northern as in the southern soil it will be interesting to inquire, for the Hittite land of Northern Syria is as yet almost unexplored. It is fair to say, however, that Schrader does not agree with Delitzsch in the view he takes of this name ("Die Keilinschriften, &c.," 2nd ed., p. 90).

I must add that M. Naville's discoveries at Tell-el-Maskhuta have shown that it was for Râmeses II that the Israelites built Pi-tum and Râmeses, and have thus confirmed definitely the general opinion of Egyptologists that he was the Pharaoh of the great oppression, and his son, Mer-en-Ptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Therefore the attack of Seti on the fortress of Kanâna must have preceded the Exodus by more than forty years.

In the same series of scenes Seti I conquers the Shasu from Tsar to Kanâna; the Kharu (Syrians); the Kheta (Hittites); and Amaru (Amorites); and takes the fortified town Kadesh in the land of Amar of the Amorites), and overruns the country to Naharina. Thus Seti effectually prepared the way for his son Râmeses, whom he took with him in his wars, and established fortified posts in the desert and in Syria, and especially wells and tanks fortified. Such a well-spring, so protected, might be fitly called "a fountain sealed," מעין חתום, (Cant. iv, 12), for *Khetam* is the very word in Egyptian for a fort, still found at Sarabit-el-Khadem, the Egyptian military mining station in Sinaïtic Arabia.

An account of Seti's triumphal reliefs at Karnak may be found in Professor Lushington's paper in "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, 509; and the tableaux are excellently reproduced from Rosellini's large plates in M. Lenormant's new edition of his "Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," Vol. II. I am very glad to know that Professor Maspero is now engaged on a

separate History of Egypt, in which all the most recent results will be taken into account.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

Weston-super-Mare,
November 16th, 1883.

HIDING-PLACES IN CANAAN.

V. THE CAVE OF ADULLAM, OR OLAM, NOT NEAR ADULLAM, BUT AT KHUREITUN.

JOSEPHUS says this cave was near the city of Adullam, but William of Tyre identifies it with the well-known and often described cave of Khureitûn, four miles south-south-east of Bethlehem.

I propose to show that, for once, mediæval credulity proves victorious over antiquity, ability, and the numerical superiority of its opponents. The explanation is simple enough: the Crusaders' rough practical knowledge of David's outlaw wants was a far more reliable guide than the subtler acumen of literary critics.

The cave is named in two Biblical episodes.

(1) "David departed thence (*i.e.*, from Gath) and escaped to the cave (of) Adullam" (1 Sam. xxii, 1).

(2) "Three of the thirty captains went *down* to *the rock* to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines encamped in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in *the hold*, and the Philistines' garrison was then at Bethlehem" (1 Chron. xi, 15, 16). In 2 Samuel xxiii, 13, a copyist's error gives "in the harvest time" for "to the rock."

Hence we learn that there was near the cave some conspicuous rock or eminence, as well as some hold or fortress.

It seems to me that this same hold is referred to in the following passages:—1 Samuel xxii, 4, 5; 1 Chronicles xii, 8, 16; 2 Samuel v, 17; and just possibly 1 Samuel xxiv, 22.

PART I.

Ten points have been named in favour of the cave having been near the city of Adullam (in the Sheplehah), identified by M. Ganneau with the ruins of Aid el Mieh, near Wâdy es Sur.

(*a*) The Bible speaks of the "Cave of Adullam," and mentions only *one* city of that name. But "the oak of Tabor" had nothing to do with Mount Tabor, and so it does not follow that the cave of Adullam had necessarily to do with the city of Adullam.

Further, as in (1) and (2) the precise words are "to the cave *of* (not *at*)

Adullam," it is not certain that "Adullam" means a place at all; it may only be a descriptive title.

(*b*) Josephus distinctly states that the cave was near the city of Adullam. But he is too inaccurate and inconsistent a writer to be any authority in this case. In fact, the balance of his opinion is adverse to those who quote him on this point. In a later statement he identifies the hold near the cave of Adullam with the citadel of Jerusalem, and the *later* statement should surely outweigh the earlier one, if a writer may alter at least his own mistakes. The fact is, his first identification was easily made because the cave of Adullam looked like the cave *at* Adullam, and then it was easily rejected because he took the *hold* in 2 Samuel v, 17, to be the *stronghold* of Zion, as (almost) the same Hebrew word is used for the two, while "went *down*" is altered into "went *up*," to make all square. A writer who can interchange such words at his own sweet will, and turn his back upon himself in a few pages, is a guide on whom I for one cannot rely. But if Josephus is to be believed, why quote the earlier statement which he himself discredits?

(*c*) "David is spoken of whilst in the hold of Adullam, as not being in the territory of Judah (1 Sam. xxii, 5). This agrees with the position of Adullam in the Shephelah beyond the mountains to which Judah was confined when the Philistines were too powerful for the Jews" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 174). But as the cities which even Samuel recovered were those "from Ekron (1 Sam. vii, 14) to Gath," and as Shocheh in xvii, 1, is reckoned to Judah, it seems incredible that after the fall of Goliath Adullam could be considered as not being in the territory of Judah (see Josephus, "Ant.," VI, xii, 3). While, however, I admit that the hold (1 Sam. xxii, 4, 5) was near the cave of Adullam, I do not allow that "Get thee into the land of Judah" requires the hold not to have been within the tribe of Judah. The Sp. Com. observes that "1 Samuel, xxiii, 3, implies that Keilah was not in Judah, at least not in the hill country which was probably what they meant by the term." Exactly so. Keilah and Adullam were both in the *lowland* district, while the forest of Hareth was in the *hill* district, and the cave of Khureitûn is in the *desert* district. Thus David could be said to go into Judah whether he started from Adullam or Khureitûn. Therefore 1 Samuel xxii, 5, suits either site.

(*d*) "David here (at Aid el Ma) encamped between the Philistines and the Jews, covered the line of advance on the cornfields of Keilah" ("Tent Work," p. 278). But much more he ought to have hindered their advance on Bethlehem, if [see (*j*)] the exploit of the three captains took place at that time. The time, however, of the Philistine foray doubtless depended on the state of the corn, and not on David's absence.

(*e*) "At Adullam the sides of the valley are lined with rows of caves, and on the hill is a separate cave" ("Tent Work"), which in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 44, is, with a touch of humour, described "as sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band was garrisoning the hold or fortress." But that any of these caves would make a good hiding-place is not a suggestion that I should like to have made to David.

As for the explanation that his men garrisoned the hold or fortress, *i.e.*, the city of Adullam, it must be pointed out that a fortified town was the very *worst* place of refuge David could have. When Saul heard that David had come to Keilah, he said, "He is shut in by entering into a town that hath gates and bars." After escaping through a window at Gibeah, it is incredible that David or his men, or both, would seek safety *within* Adullam. Besides, Saul never heard of David while he was at the cave of Adullam. Were then all the Adullamites friends to David, and only the Keilites traitors? It is impossible that David could take refuge close to a well-known town, and be joined by 400 men, and Saul not hear a word about it.

(*f*) "There is no great cavern at the ruin in question (at Adullam). This is precisely why the site seems most probable. The dampness and the feverish character of the atmosphere . . . seem to prevent the large caves from being ever used as habitations" (1875, p. 148). But according to the Bible the cave seems to have been the abode alike of David and his men, amounting to 400. It speaks not of *caves*, but of one only, and that must have been a large one. If there is no large cave at Aid el Ma, then the site is herein unsuitable for the cave of Adullam. Further, it is a complete mistake to suppose, in general, that the large caves in Palestine are never used as habitations, and in particular that the cave of Khureitûn is either damp or feverish. (See below, 14, 16, 17, 19.)

(*g*) "It follows, from the expression 'Brake through the host or camp,' that the way from Adullam to Bethlehem lay through or across the valley of Rephaim" (Sp. Com. on 2 Sam. xxiii). Gesenius's Dictionary gives "brake *into*," which removes the difficulty at once. Any possible position, however, for Adullam is such that the captains on their way from it to Bethlehem would not have to pass through or across the valley named.

(*h*) "The hill at Adullam is the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich corn lands of Judah" (1875, p. 149).

(*i*) I make the Adullamites a present of this jot. In the neighbourhood of the cave of Adullam was *the rock* [see (2)] or (Hebrew) *Tzur*, and the valley near Aid el Ma is called Wâdy es Sur, *i.e.*, the valley of the rock. The name Sur also occurs twice more in the same valley. Now I admit that these two – (*h*) and (*i*) – are remarkable coincidences, but there were other strong positions beside that of Adullam. Of Herodium it is said ("Tent Work," p. 152): "In the scenery south of Jerusalem, and in views of the country round Bethlehem, this mountain (Jebel Fureidis) forms a most remarkable feature." Thus both the rival sites seem to have a prominent hill close at hand. Possibly Wâdy es Sur got its name from Beth-zur, as one of its tributary valleys comes down from that place. If Adullam meant the well-known city of that name, it would seem superfluous to mention *the rock* along with "unto the cave of Adullam" in 2 Samuel xxiii, 13.

(*j*) "The journey from Ed el Miye to Bethlehem and back, about twelve leagues, would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David. Those who consider the distance too much have only to remember

that it is related as an exploit, and that the fatigue has to be added to the risk (M. Ganneau, 1875, p. 177). This incident seems to me the crucial point on which the false claims of Adullam to be the site of David's cave are hopelessly shivered to pieces.

First let it be settled on what known occasions David was or may have been at the cave of Adullam.

I. He was there after leaving Gath (1 Sam. xxii, 1, 4, 5), and after his return from Moab, if (as I believe) *the hold* meant that near the cave of Adullam.

II. Just possibly after sparing Saul's life at En-gedi (xxiv, 22), if the hold means that near the above cave.

III. After he was anointed king over Israel (2 Sam. v, 17), for then on the invasion of *all* the Philistines, David went *down* to the hold, if (as I believe must be the case) this hold means that near the above cave.

To which of these are we to apply 2 Samuel xxiii, 13? If to I, then we have to believe that not long after the sore defeat at Ephes-Dammim the Philistines actually penetrated to the heart of Saul's kingdom, and that while their host was encamped in the valley of Rephaim, and their garrison was at Bethlehem, the three captains indeed showed heroic courage, but that neither Saul at Gibeah nor David at Adullam stirred a finger to interfere with them, although the latter was down at once upon the enemy when they robbed the threshing-floors at Keilah. Such inaction would be equally inconsistent with the activity of Saul and the patriotism of David.

It seems to me, therefore, utterly incredible that the exploit took place on occasion I.

If we refer it to II, then we have to believe the same impossibilities even when David's men had increased to 600. This also must be rejected.

Only III remains, and it may be observed that Josephus joins together 2 Samuel v, 17, and xxiii, 13, in "Ant.," VII, xii, 4. David must have been driven to the very last extremity when he withdrew from the impregnable fortress of Zion, and went down to *the hold*. But here again it is incredible that a genius of David's intelligence and military capacity, when all the Philistines came up against him, should have made a flank march to Adullam, close to the enemies' country (like an ostrich putting his head into a small cave), instead of retiring on the wilderness of Judah, the constant rallying place of the Jews when they were hard pressed by their enemies. Besides, if David at this time fell back on the city of Adullam, why should he further dwell there in a cave and not in a house? This incident seems to me to crush to atoms the popular notion that the cave of Adullam was near the city of Adullam. I now claim that destructive criticism has annihilated this error, and shown where the cave was not. It remains to show where it was.

Part II.

In disposing of the above ten points, I claim to have proved that the cave of Adullam was not near the city of Adullam. I will now give

twenty points proving that it was the present cave of Khureitûn, and invite the Adullamites to show how my argument fails.

1. *The cave was in the desert of Judah.*—The desert on the eastern side of the watershed was always a favourite refuge of the Jews in time of danger—*e.g.*, Rock Rimmon, Masada, 1 Maccab. ii, 31. Hunted out of Gibeah, pursued to Ramah, only extricating himself from Gath by a clever artifice, David must have been a madman indeed to seek safety close to any city. Nothing remained for him but to escape to the wilderness—the scene of his future wanderings.

2. *It was not far from Bethlehem.*—Hence he could communicate with his friends, get food and also notice of Saul's movements. Yet at the same time he would be in perfect concealment, and as a matter of fact Saul remained in complete ignorance of David's whereabouts during his stay at the cave. Treachery alone could have helped Saul, and on one occasion David seems to have suspected it in (1 Chron. xii, 17) the case of Amasai. The cave cannot have been far from Bethlehem, as David while in "the hold" must still have been watching the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim (2 Sam. v, 17).

3. David's parents would easily and naturally go *down* to the cave of Khureitûn.

4. Thence Moab was an obvious and accessible place of refuge.

5. This position of the cave suits the expression "into the hold to the wilderness" (1 Chron. xii, 8).

6. From this cave in the wilderness, David might rightly be said to go into the land of Judah (see (*c*) *supra*).

7. If Samuel's Ramah was (as I believe) near Bethlehem, then it would be easy for Gad, if he belonged to the school of the prophets at Naioth, to join David at this cave.

8. As Jebel Fureidis, or the Frank Mountain (Herodium), may be passed on the way to the cave from Bethlehem or Jerusalem, and as it is the most prominent eminence in this part of the desert from Judah, it exactly answers to *the rock* in 1 Chron. xi, 15. The relative position of the places suits Kennicott's rendering: "The three captains went down *over the rock* to David into the cave of Adullam."

9. The hold was apparently some strong position near or just above the cave. Bethlehem must be visible from some point close to the cave of Khureitûn, so that the exploit of the three heroes (Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah, according to Kennicott) doubtless took place under the very eye of David.

10. *The cave of Khureitûn must have been known to David.*—As he formerly fed sheep in this wilderness, he must at some time have observed the open mouth of the cave across the yawning ravine, and youthful curiosity would lead him to explore its hidden depths. Probably, however (see 20), the cave had attained fame long before David was born.

11. *But it was not known to Saul*—who, though well acquainted with Benjamin's great cave (1879, p. 125), would have had much trouble in finding Judah's more famous hiding-place. Sheikh Abou Dok'n, in 1864,

after wandering with a companion perseveringly for five hours, had to give up his search in despair ("Land of Israel," p. 402).

12. The cave of Adullam was a *large* one, and "the cave at Khureitûn is the most remarkable cavern in the country" ("Tent Work," 152).

13. *No other large cave* (to my knowledge) *exists both in the wilderness and near Bethlehem.* If any such, however, is known, this is a point on which Captain Conder must have information. Curiously enough, a cave actually named "Davd's cave" is marked on the map three and a half miles east of Bethlehem, but it is not thought worthy of particular notice in the "Memoirs."

14. Large caves in Palestine have frequently been inhabited in times of danger, *e.g.*, Mugharet el Jai (1879, p. 119).

15. *This cave is habitable.*—Mr. Drake reported (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 25); "The main objection urged against this (*i.e.*, Khureitûn) being David's lair is its position, which is said to be too far eastward (for it to be near the city of Adullam); but in all other respects it is most admirably suited for an outlaw's hiding-place." Stronger testimony could not be desired.

16, 17. "This cave is *dry* and *airy;* the air of the cave was dry and pure" (Drake). "The air is dry and good" ("Memoirs"). There seems therefore, to have been some unnecessary alarm about David's taking fever or rheumatism. My visit to the cave of Khureitûn with H. B. was on April 3rd, 1875. Heavy rain had fallen the previous day, and during March the rainfall had reached 10½ inches. Within the cave water was dropping in two places. In 1877 less than 1 inch was registered (1883, 22) in the same month, so that if David had a fine season he must have found the cave as dry as tinder.

18. *This cave is well provided with water.*—"Two other openings beside the door fully command the path to 'Ain el Natuf (the dripping spring or well), which consequently could not be used by an attacking party, while, owing to the overhanging rocks, a besieged party might draw their water with impunity" (Drake).

19. This cave has not only been actually inhabited at times, but must have been *much resorted to*, as proved (1) by history. A thousand refugees in B.C. 166 hid themselves (so Prideaux, Jahn, Milner, rightly I believe) in *one* cave in the wilderness near Jerusalem.

On being betrayed they refused to come out of their hiding-place, and as they offered no resistance on the Sabbath, either by casting stones or stopping the *openings* (N.B.—plural) of the cave, they were suffocated by smoke, at the command of Philip (rightly named) the Phrygian. Khureitûn may well have been the scene of this massacre.

St. Chariton probably started housekeeping in this cave when he was building his Laura, called Suka. Beyond question the Tekoites took refuge here in A.D. 1138 (Robinson's "Bib. Res.")

(2), By excavation. Colonel Warren, after digging, reports ("Letters," p. 84): "In the second chamber, after working through a loose, brown *loam abounding in pottery*, a stalagmite floor, 3 inches thick, was reached, at

4 feet 6 inches," and "in the first cave the stalagmite floor was reached at a depth of 7 feet, the white dust between it and the rock having a depth of 15 inches; *the 7 feet of loam was full of broken pottery.*" As the shards do not seem to have been *Moabite*, they may be taken to be conclusive evidence that the cave was once a popular resort.

20. But how did this great cave near Bethlehem come to be entitled the cave of Adullam? for, of course, there was no second city of that name close to it. It is also called at the present time Mugharet M'asa. My conjecture that this word was got from the Hebrew *Masa* (a refuge) was rejected by Captain Conder, whose own explanation, that it means "the *intricate* cave," was in turn set aside by Professor Palmer, who translated it "the cave of the rebellion." Can this have any reference to David's outlaw band?

No reasonable explanation seems to have been given of the meaning of "Adullam." Jerome's attempts are only fanciful. R. J. Simonis says it means "the cave of retirement," apparently referring to David's hiding there. Hebrew scholars on this point seem unable to give us any real help. Bearing in mind the extraordinary character of the cave, its great length (reported by the Arabs to reach to Tekoa and even to Hebron), its numerous chambers, and its endless windings, it seems to me that a cavern so remarkable would certainly acquire a special name marking its unique character. Can "Adullam" then be a corrupt reading for some other word? The only satisfactory conclusion I can come to is this. The meaningless title "Maarath Adullam" becomes a very striking one by the slight alteration of ד (daleth) into ו (vau). I believe, then, that the original name of the cave was "Maarath Olam," or the Cave of Eternity, *i.e.*, "the Old Cave" (as in Prov. xxii, 28; xxiii, 10, *old landmark*). Just as the Kishon seems to have been called the ancient river, *i.e.*, most ancient in the memory of man, so it seems to me that the cave of Adullam is a corruption for "the old cave," whose fame had been handed down from generations past. But how came the alteration to be made in *three* passages in the Bible?

It seems to me that in 1 Samuel xxii, 1, *Adullam* was substituted for *Olam* either by a copyist's error or emendation because he knew that Adullam was not far from Gath, and therefore thought it probable that David went from one to the other. Afterwards the other passages were to agree with 1 Samuel xxii.

It will be observed that I have assumed (1) that David's visit to the cave of Adullam (2 Sam. xxiii, 13) must be one noticed elsewhere in his history, and (2) that no other larger or more suitable cave now exists (known or unknown), or ever did exist, near Bethlehem.

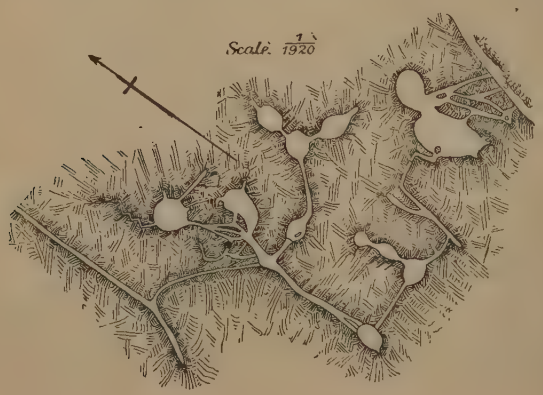
If any one think these assumptions are unsafe, let him, like Goliath, challenge them.

I claim now that after four years (1880, p. 173) I have made out a complete case, and proved that David did not escape to a cave at Adullam, but to the cave of Olam near Jebel Fureidis, *i.e.*, to the cave of Khureitûn, or M'asa."

Still, if Horam (*roi de Guézer*), or any champion of the Adullamites (a most powerful tribe, I admit), desires before parting with the cave which they have usurped for years, to see me face to face in these pages, be it so. I would, however, add one warning: Be content with smiting Moabite pottery, and spoiling Shapira's supple skins; for why shouldest thou meddle with David in his cave? Remember you have far less chance of success than had the son of Kish. You cannot with Saul, threaten, coax, or starve him out; neither can you with Herod hook him, nor with Philip roast him out. As a second Benaiah you must go boldly in and try to drag out Bethlehem's lion by sheer force of argument, at the imminent risk of being yourself thrown headlong into "the dripping well"; for so numerous are the cross passages (1–20) that, in the words of Mr. Drake, "any invader who had succeeded in penetrating the entrance passage would be entirely at the mercy of the defenders."

The cave is thus described by Captain Conder ("Memoirs," Vol. III, p. 375):—

"A ledge of rock, some 6 to 8 feet wide, leads above the Ain in Nâtûf to the entrance of the cave, in front of which are two large blocks of rock, some 7 feet high. The cave has three narrow entrances, with two cross passages, and these lead to a chamber 55 feet diameter and 30 to 40 feet high. The walls are smooth, and seem to have been possibly worn out by water action. It does not appear that any of the excavation is artificial. A very narrow passage leads in irregularly for about 100 feet to a second small chamber, about 10 feet diameter, whence a rude passage runs out for about 25 feet. There is again a passage at a level a few feet higher, leading westwards from the second chamber for 25 feet to a third round chamber, reached by a drop of about 14 feet. Out of the first chamber a passage leads north at a level of some 4 feet above the bottom, and runs about 100 feet north to a large chamber, some 18 feet diameter, from which very narrow passages run out and terminate in the plan. There is a fifth



chamber to the south-east of the fourth, and several ramifying passages. An important branch gallery runs away eastward from the main passage, terminating in three chambers about 10 to 15 feet diameter. Another passage, narrower and at a level higher than that of the main passage, runs north-west for 50 feet, and leads to a gallery running north and south 250 feet long. The greatest length of this curious cavern is 550 feet; the passages are 6 to 10 feet high; the air is dry and good, but the place is full of bats, and the floor entirely covered with thin dung."

See also Warren's account (*Quarterly Statement*, 1869, Letter XXXV, p. 83):—

"We went in search of the passage described by Dr. Tobler, in which he found some sarcophagi and Phœnician inscriptions. Sergeant Birtles and six fellâhs were also of the party, to excavate and examine the bottoms of the large caves.

"We arrived at the cave at 10 A.M.; the Ta'amireh at first objected to our digging, but were soon quieted.

"We went through to the last cave spoken of in Murray's Handbook, whence Tobler's description of the passage begins. On our way we found a passage to the left, half filled with the refuse of bats. After crawling for about 200 feet on our elbows and knees we came to a shaft leading upwards, about 15 feet high; climbing up this we found ourselves in a passage, about 6 feet high, leading north and south: to the north we went perhaps 200 feet, when the passage ends in a cave, from which, after passing a small hole, are many other passages leading in all directions. To the south we went about 100 feet and found some broken stones which had been hewn. Over a little passage to the east we saw a Jerusalem Cross smoked on the wall. Finding the time was passing quickly we returned and followed into the last cave spoken of by Murray. Here in the north-west corner is a small opening, and over it written "No outlet here," and it was in this, as far as we could understand the description, that Tobler had found an outlet. Crawling up this passage we found to be most difficult, and only to be passed in one place by lying on the side and wriggling through. After this there is a small passage for about 30 feet, and then it opens into a passage running north and south, which proved to be the passage we had been in before when we had found the Jerusalem Cross. It will be thus easy at some future period to go up the first passage we explored, and thus miss the very difficult pass from the last cave; but to explore the cavern properly (if it be worth the trouble) people should encamp near the cave for a day or two. Although we got in such a little way we were at work over five hours in the caves.

"There are four large caves; in the fourth and last no excavation was made.

"In the third the rock was found at 2 feet 6 inches. No pottery.

"In the second, after working through a loose brown loam abounding in pottery, a stalagmite floor 3 inches thick was reached, at 4 feet 6 inches; below it for 18 inches was a white dust and then hard rock (melekeh). No bones.

"In the first cave the stalagmite floor was reached at a depth of 7 feet, the white dust between it and the rock having a depth of 15 inches, the 7 feet of loam was full of broken pottery. No bones."

W. F. B.

NOTES ON PRÆ-EXILIC JERUSALEM.

Welcome to Professor Sayce as a fresh gladiator in the arena of Zionic controversy! Equipped with the latest and best weapons from the East, and unimpeded by old prejudices from the West, he has over already battered antagonists every advantage save one. He can hardly know the ground so well as those who have learnt the slippery places by humiliating falls. Time only can show what success he will have with his strange theories, and whether a ferule can avail against Professor Robertson Smith's new net (*i.e.*, his theory that præ-exilic Jerusalem never occupied the south-western hill) and Mr. Sayce's trident, whose three sharp prongs are (1) that the Siloam Tunnel was made by Solomon, (2) that "the upper pool" was the Pool of Siloam, and (3) that a valley or depression formerly ran from the Tyropœon to the Kidron valley, entering the latter a little above the Virgin's Spring, and that the Temple-hill was the city of Jebus.

I will endeavour to break first the prongs and then the net.

1. (*a*) Professor Sayce thinks (1883, p. 211) that the words in the Siloam Inscription "from the spring to *the* pool" show that at the time this was the only pool existing at Jerusalem. He concludes, therefore, that the tunnel must be earlier than the time of Ahaz, as in his reign there existed an *upper* pool (Isa. vii, 3), which implies that there was also a lower one. I answered that in 2 Kings xx, 20, Hezekiah is said to have made *the* pool, although the upper pool existed in the previous reign. There is no reason why a *the* should imply more when engraved on a *rock* than when written on a *roll*. Professor Sayce, however, maintains that my objection has no force, as "there is all the difference in the world" between the two cases.

I find that scholars from four universities decline to endorse his opinion, and one states that he "does not see in the words 'from the spring to the pool' anything to show that this was the only pool in Jerusalem. As far as the words go, they seem to imply only the spring and the pool with which they were occupied."

Thus the inscription cannot be put in as evidence that the tunnel existed before the time of Hezekiah.

(*b*) Professor Sayce also argues that the tunnel cannot have been made by Hezekiah, because "the waters of Shiloah" (*i.e.*, the conduit) are mentioned previously.

If it has *really* been ascertained that the newly-found aqueduct (1883, pp. 106, 211) does not lead from the Virgin's Fount, then I the more cheerfully own my error, as I can make a better point. I conjecture, with the utmost

confidence, that before the Siloam Tunnel was made, the waters of Gihon (Virgin's Fount) *flowed softly* to Siloam along an aqueduct on the eastern side of Ophel (so called), and that excavation in two or three places will certainly find traces of it. The discovery of such an aqueduct, which obviously would be more ancient than the tunnel, would at once destroy the argument which Mr. Sayce draws from "the waters of Shiloah."

When careful search has failed to find this aqueduct, then I shall be glad to admit the overwhelming weight of (*b*).

(*c*) In opposition to my claim (p. 106) that the tunnel is the work of Hezekiah, referred to in 2 Kings xx, 20, it is added (p. 211): "Moreôver, the word translated *conduit* is תעלה, which is not the same as the נקבה, or *tunnel*, of the inscription."

What Mr. Sayce means by this objection I fail to comprehend, as on page 215 he observes, "The upper pool, consequently, must be the Pool of Siloam, and *the conduit the tunnel* which conducts the water into it." If in Isaiah vii, 3 the *conduit* may apply to the tunnel (or נקבה of the inscription), why may not the *conduit* (the same Hebrew word) of 2 Kings xx, 20 also apply to the same tunnel? I claim now to have broken prong 1, or at any rate to have reversed its point.

2. Mr. Sayce further thinks that the (upper) Pool of Siloam must be referred to in the words (Isa. vii, 3) "the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field." He adds that "the topography of Jerusalem makes it clear that the fuller's field could have been only at the southern entrance into the Tyropœon valley, where water for fulling could be obtained from the Kidron and En-rogel, the modern Bîr Eyyûb, as well as a strip of level ground. This is fully confirmed by the name Enrogel, *the fuller's fountain*." To this I must also object that—

(*a*) Water was at hand elsewhere, near Jerusalem, as Mr. Sayce himself witnesses. On page 214 he puts "the gathering place," or tank, for the water of the old pool near the valley-gate (as marked on his plan). But for a pool to have been "old" in Hezekiah's time, it must at least have existed in that of Ahaz, and it must have been (so far as I can see) further up the valley, *i.e.*, at a higher level than the Pool of Siloam. Thus the south-eastern side of Jerusalem was not the only place for getting water.

Besides this an old aqueduct (*Quarterly Statement*, 1872, p. 48) exists east of the Damascus gate, which must have carried water to (or from) some pool. Thus far north of the Pool of Siloam we have, according to Mr. Sayce, a *pool* and, as discovery has shown, also a *conduit*.

(*b*) The word "field" (*sadeh*) has a wide meaning. It is used for "the open country," in contrast to "the city," and so would be as applicable to the ground near the Damascus gate as to the level ground towards En-rogel.

(*c*) En-rogel strictly means "the spring of the foot," which is not the same as "fuller." As the feet were used in fulling, the Targum explains the name as meaning "the fuller's spring," but another interpretation has been given, and the foot was also used in irrigation. And why should the

occupants of the castle of Zion send their washing all the way to En-rogel, when they could have it done quite as well at home at the Virgin's Fount, like the modern dandy of Kefr Silwân? ("Jer. Rec.," p. 243). Josephus further puts "the fuller's monument" on the east of the Damascus gate.

As, therefore, far north of the Pool of Siloam there was *water*, and a *pool*, and a *conduit*, and a drying *ground*, and a *fuller's* monument, I cannot admit that Mr. Sayce has shown that "the fuller's field adjoined the Bîr Eyyûb," and that "the upper pool, consequently, must be the Pool of Siloam." On the contrary, I have shown that there was a far more suitable spot on the north side of Jerusalem, where Rab-shakeh would be much more likely to deliver his message, instead of down at the south-eastern corner of the city.

Again, according to Mr. Sayce's theory (p. 214), Hezekiah made a tank "for the water of the old pool" in the Tyropœon higher up than the Pool of Siloam, and though he does not state where he thinks "the old pool was," still (as it seems to me) it could not be identical with the Pool of Siloam. As, therefore, we have "the old pool" at a higher level than the Pool of Siloam, the former would more suitably be called the upper pool than the latter. I claim, therefore, to have broken or completely bent prong 2, even if his position for the *tank* be right.

3. Mr. Sayce thinks that there was a valley between the City of David on Ophel (so called), and Mount Moriah, and that on the latter (*i.e.*, the Temple-hill) stood "the city of Jebus." If the German explorers have really ascertained the existence of such a valley across the ridge, and not merely a depression on the backbone of the ridge, as observed by Colonel Warren ("Jer. Rec.," p. 291), then I welcome the discovery as giving the northern limit of the City of David. I observe, however, on page 194, that Captain Conder, who ought to be as well informed on the subject as Mr. Sayce, seems to be strongly opposed to the existence of such a valley. To the second point I would object—

(*a*) That in putting the City of Jebus on Moriah, Mr. Sayce places Araunah's threshing-floor *within* the city, while the custom seems for such spots to have been outside the walls.

(*b*) That while Mr. Sayce, in 2 Samuel v, 8, substitutes "temple" for "house" in Authorised Version, others do not think that the Temple is at all referred to, and Kennicott translates the words, "because the blind and the lame said, He shall not come into the house." Thus I cannot allow that the passage implies that "the Jebusites, whose city was stormed, inhabited the higher Temple-hill."

(*c*) In applying 2 Samuel v, 8 to the city of Jebus, and not to the castle of Zion (1878, p. 130), Mr. Sayce seems to me to have fallen into the popular error which three years ago I found had already been pointed out by "E. F." on "The Book of Psalms." The Biblical account (Sam. and Chron.) speaks only of *one* place being taken (not of *two*, as commonly supposed), viz., the castle of Zion. In 2 Samuel v, 6, the Jebusites, confident in the impregnability of their castle, taunted David. In verse 7 David takes the castle. In verse 8 the sense is clearer if we read "for" instead of

"And." "On that day" I take to mean, not on the day of the assault, but (as the Hebrew narrative frequently goes back) on the day that the Jebusites and the blind and the lame taunted David.

(*d*) As I have pointed out that there is full reason for supposing that Araunah betrayed Zion by helping Joab up "the gutter," or rocky shaft above the Virgin's Fount, I cannot admit that his threshing-floor on Moriah allows us to infer that the Jebusites still continued to live on the higher hill of Moriah (p. 214), or, indeed, that they ever lived there at all.

Thus I claimed to have turned the point of prong 3, and the trident becomes a useless weapon.

It still remains for me to break the net. I am glad to agree with Professors Robertson Smith and Sayce that Zion was solely on Ophel (so called), and that the Tyropœon was the Valley of Hinnom ; only I take the former to have been merely a part of the latter, and the latter to have reached towards the Jaffa gate, and not northwards towards the Damascus gate. I cannot, however, admit that præ-exilic Jerusalem did not occupy the upper hill of Josephus. Professor Robertson Smith's arguments for his theory (those of Professor Sayce I do not find) are given in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," under *Jerusalem*, to the following effect :—

(1) If the upper city was enclosed by Nehemiah, then no account is given of the defences for nearly half a mile, from the dung-gate (near the Protestant school) to the fountain-gate, near Siloam. But I have pointed out the reason in *Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 178. As no one would ever think of attacking Jerusalem on this south side, it would have been labour lost here to throw down its fortifications. Perhaps, too, the rock was scarped to a great height.

(2) He urges that Nehemiah implies that the fountain-gate was near the dung-gate, and that in chapter xii the procession which went to the dung-gate is immediately afterwards found at the fountain-gate. But I cannot admit that "Then I went on to the gate of the fountain" (ii, 14) implies that it was *near* the dung-gate ; I should rather say the reverse, and next, as there seems to have been no gate between the two, it is difficult to see why anything should be mentioned between them.

(3) He says, "It is hardly possible that so important a part of the circuit should be twice omitted, and the vast lacuna disappears at once if we suppose that the upper city of Josephus was not enclosed by Nehemiah." But if the western wall was so slightly injured that one party (iii, 13) could repair the valley-gate and *a thousand cubits* on the wall to the dung-gate," it is very likely that the still more strongly situated southern wall would need no repairs, and therefore would not be mentioned in either case.

(4) It would have been folly in Nehemiah to enclose a much vaster or less defensible circuit, when the inhabitants were so few that it was necessary to draft a tenth of the whole people into the capital" (Neh. xi, 1). But it seems to me that it would have been far greater folly in Nehemiah if he had not built the city on the line of the old wall, when he had the authority for so doing; and as for the vast area, it agrees exactly with the

Biblical notice (vii, 4): "Now the city was large and great; but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded."

(5) Once more, by placing the valley-gate quite near the Temple we understand how it was in this neighbourhood that the second procession in Nehemiah began its course. The "how" is not clear to me, but I do see that in such a case one party must have marched a very much longer distance than the other, which seems to me an improbable arrangement.

(6) When Professor Sayce excludes the upper hill from præ-exilic Jerusalem, he has also to face the arguments about the area of the Holy City which Captain Conder has erroneously urged against me (p. 195).

(7) He has also to account for the meaning of the old arch anterior to, but on the line of, Robinson's arch, and to explain why it should have been erected at a point far outside the walls of his Jerusalem ("Jer. Rec.," p. 110).

Having answered all the arguments offered on this point, I claim that Nehemiah enclosed the upper city.

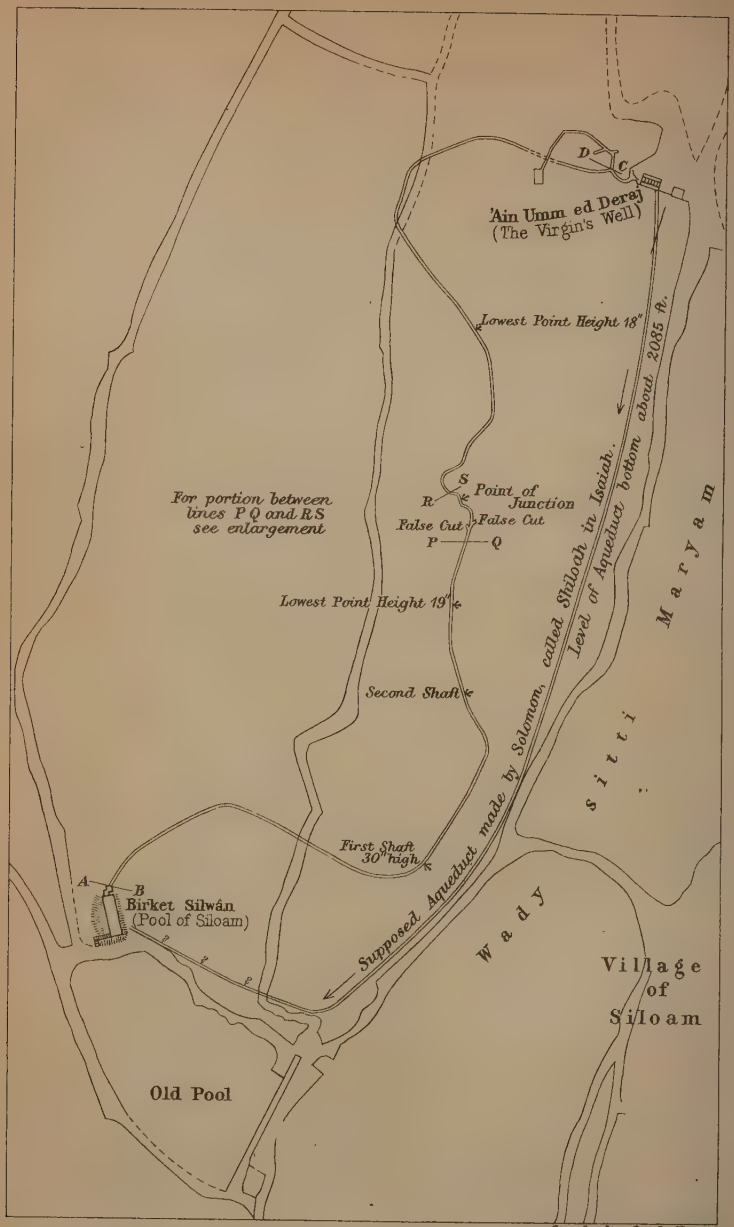
Therefore the net also is broken, and as the trident is useless, it is now open to me to turn *secutor* and pursue my antagonist to the very gates of Jerusalem.

"The gate of Ephraim"="the gate of the Potteries," according to Professor Sayce's plan; but on page 218 he says, "the gate of the potteries seems to be the valley-gate," and on his plan "the valley-gate" is placed at the western exit of the (supposed?) valley which separated Zion from Moriah; and lastly, on page 218 it is said that "the fish-gate was at the western exit of the (same) valley." Surely some explanation is needed here, as, according to Nehemiah iii and xii, the Fish, Ephraim, and Valley gates were three distinct gates.

On page 214 Mr. Sayce says that here "through the gate between the two walls (probably the potteries' gate) Zedekiah fled along the valley of the son of Hinnom . . . past Enrogel and Marsaba" (!). 'Surely when "the Chaldæans were by the city round about," it is incredible that the Jewish king would begin his flight by half a mile's pleasure trip outside the city walls under the nose of the enemy posted (according to Mr. Sayce) on the upper hill; and next, that he should go past Marsaba, miles out of his way, is still more startling. Here the *retiarius* seems to get entangled in his own net, and to be caught romancing by the *mirmillo*. For what is the authority for this last statement? Not the Bible nor Josephus. If my old friend Herodotus, I will believe it; but it looks more like a dragoman's answer to a leading question. Perhaps Mr. Sayce did not revise his papers.

But I see the *Editor's* thumb is coming down, so I must be quick with one more blow, or my pet theory will go unavenged.

Of my lucubrations on Jerusalem the one that would most interest the general reader, I take to be that which shows that the shaft discovered by Colonel Warren at the Virgin's Fount was the scene of Araunah's treachery in connection with Joab's ascent of "the gutter." And now Mr. Sayce (p. 211) says that the rock-cut shaft and passages are of "later" date than


D
C
'Ain Umm ed Deraj
(The Virgin's Well)
Lowest Point Height 18"
Level of Aqueduct bottom about 2085 ft.
S
Point of Junction
R
False Cut
False Cut
P
Q
For portion between lines P Q and R S see enlargement
Lowest Point Height 19"
Second Shaft
First Shaft 30" high
Supposed Aqueduct made by Solomon, called Shiloah in Isaiah.
Sitti Maryam
A
B
Birket Silwân
(Pool of Siloam)
Wady
Village of Siloam
Old Pool
Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

the Siloam Tunnel, and were made by Hezekiah. Thus in self-defence I must offer the most uncompromising resistance to his *dictum*, as I had rather lose all the points named above than this last one by itself.

(*a*) Colonel Warren's plan (No. 18) states that the passage to the vertical shaft is in a line with that from the Virgin's Fount, while the tunnel to Siloam is marked as turning off at an angle. From this he concludes that the passage to the shaft was made before the tunnel.

(*b*) Mr. Sayce (p. 211) says, "This second tunnel—*i.e.*, the one to the vertical shaft (or *A*)—is in connection with the Siloam one, a perpendicular shaft (or *B*), descending to the latter below the vaulted chamber, and appears therefore to be of later origin." Here he is under some misapprehension; as *A*, which descends to the water, is *not* under the vaulted chamber, and *B*, which is so, was found partly filled up and was never explored.

Colonel Warren, however, conjectures that as the rock-cut passages and *A* would be inconvenient for drawing water, at some later date *B* was excavated to the level of the water in the Siloam Tunnel, though it does not seem actually to descend into it. *B*, no doubt, is later than either the Siloam Tunnel or *A*, but this does not at all prove that *A* is of later date than the Siloam Tunnel itself.

(*c*) Mr. Sayce appears to think that Solomon made the Siloam Tunnel in order that his capital might not have to depend upon rain-water in time of siege. It is, however, not complimentary to his surpassing wisdom to maintain that he executed a work of such enormous magnitude merely for such a reason, when Colonel Warren's shaft and passages would attain the same result with a mere fraction of the labour. The object of the tunnel was rather to deprive the enemy of the use of the overflow of the waters from the Virgin's Fount.

I maintain that the shaft *A* was used by the Jebusites, and (*a*) alone proves that it was older than the Siloam Tunnel. And even if it can be shown that the latter is of Solomonic date, it only helps to prove the point I value most.

W. F. Birch.

THE WATERS OF SHILOAH (OR THE AQUEDUCT) THAT GO SOFTLY.

Isaiah viii, 6.

It seems to me as certain as any point not yet ascertained to be a fact can be said to be certain, that these waters flowed from the Virgin's Fount along an aqueduct (cut in the rock) on the eastern side of Ophel (so called) southward to the entrance of the Tyropœon. Little or no fall would cause the water to flow (or go) *softly*. Therefore, as the present level of the Virgin's Fountain is 2,087 feet, we may expect the waters, before the Siloam Tunnel was made, to have flowed at about the same level.

It seems probable, therefore, that if the side of Ophel was bared to the natural rock between the Virgin's Fount and the entrance to the Tyropœon valley, traces of the above-named aqueduct would be discovered at a level of about 2,087 feet, but the search ought to be extended from about 2,080 feet to 2,090 feet. Probably the aqueduct would be a narrow trench a foot or two broad, cut in the rock perhaps 3 feet deep, and covered over with slabs of stone.[1] As possibly the aqueduct might in some places be destroyed when it fell into disuse on the completion of the Siloam Tunnel, it is quite possible that in searching for the aqueduct, the exploring party might excavate at some of these places, so that if no result attended the first attempt, a second or even a third ought to be made at some other part of its course.

Thrupp's opinion that the waters of Shiloah represented *the line or house of David* has for five years commended itself to me.

I believe he thought that they were brought by an aqueduct from Bethlehem. When it became clear to me that the City of David was on Ophel (so called), and that the Virgin's Fount was the ancient draw-well of Zion, by means of the subterranean passage and shaft discovered by Colonel Warren, it seemed to me that the fittest explanation was that the waters from the Virgin's Fountain were the waters of Shiloah, though I did not see how, in the time of Ahaz (for I believed and believe the Siloam Tunnel was made by Hezekiah), these waters from the Virgin's Fount could have given the name of Siloah to a spot near the present 'Ain Silwân. Professor Sayce thinks that the waters from the Virgin's Fount flowing along the Siloam Tunnel thereby got the name of *Shiloah* from the *tunnel* or *aqueduct*, and so was given to the pool the name of Siloah or Siloam. Therefore, he argues, the tunnel existed in the time of Ahaz, and must have been made by Solomon as the only probable author of waterworks before Hezekiah.

The discovery of another aqueduct, which it was supposed brought water *directly* to the lower Pool of Siloam, *i.e.*, without passing through the upper Pool of Siloam, suggested to me what I believe is the true explanation of the difficulty. Even if it has been proved or could be proved that this new aqueduct only led from the upper Pool of Siloam, still this circumstance would not alter my opinion as to the true explanation.

The following considerations influence me in this conclusion :—

[1] As the aqueduct would be made only for irrigation, not from military considerations, it is unlikely that it should have been tunnelled through the rock instead of merely a channel being cut in the rock. This latter at that time could be made with little expense and in a short time, as many could work at it together. If there were no such aqueduct as I suppose, then it seems to me inevitable that the Siloam Tunnel was made by Solomon; but this seems to me so utterly out of the question that (though I am aware it is better not to prophesy until you know) I wish to prophesy that the aqueduct will be found if looked for carefully.

1. It is reasonable to apply Shiloah, Siloah, and Siloam to one spot, *i.e.*, the part of the Tyropœon near 'Ain Silwân, and not to different places.

2. The waters of Shiloah must, somehow or other, have come from the Virgin's Fount.

3. But they could only be brought down by some aqueduct to the southern end of the Tyropœon.

4. They could not have flowed down the Siloam Tunnel, as the date of that seems (to me) to have been the time of Hezekiah, and the waters of Shiloah are named previously in the time of Ahaz.

5. Therefore the only explanation available is that there was an aqueduct from the Virgin's Fountain along the eastern side of Ophel to the mouth of the Tyropœon.

6. If the aqueduct was made with but little fall, the waters would go or flow *softly*.

7. If it is urged that there may have been an aqueduct down the Tyropœon, one would reply, Where would a better source of water than the Virgin's Fount be found? and next, the fall down the Tyropœon would be such that the waters could hardly be said to go *softly*, but rather swiftly.

8. I believe the aqueduct supposed to exist in (5) was made by Solomon to irrigate the lower part of the Tyropœon (south of the 'Ain Silwân), *i.e.*, the King's gardens. It seems to me reasonable to think he would make some such use of the superfluous waters of the Virgin's Fount, instead of letting them run to waste through the soil of the Kedron Valley.

I would therefore put before the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund a proposal that search should be made for this aqueduct. Its discovery would result in clearing up certain points.

(*a*) It would be a point gained to know that such an aqueduct existed.

(*b*) What is meant by the waters of Shiloah would be clear.

(*c*) There would not any longer be any room whatever for two opinions about the date of the Siloam Tunnel.

(*d*) I would add, from my own point of view, that a stimulus would be given to making further excavations at Jerusalem.

I trust, therefore, that the Committee will not put this question aside as an unlearned, or at any rate groundless, speculation.

W. F. Birch.

Manchester,
November 5th, 1883.

THE CITY OF DAVID AND JOSEPHUS.

Some of Captain Conder's remarks on p. 194 call for notice.

The Garrison.—As he objects to my words on this subject, I would add that Patrick, on Judges ix, 6, observes: "And after all it must be confessed

that the *Hebrew* word *Matzab* doth not certainly signify a *pillar*, for I cannot find it so used in any other place of Scripture." How then am I wrong in saying that *Matzab* never means a *pillar*, and that it is an entire mistake to say it is rendered *pillar* in other passages? Judges ix, 6, is one; but where is the second passage? His favourite authority on 1 Samuel xiii, 3, mentions a garrison, not a *pillar*, so that it is *my* turn now to ask, "Is this another false statement of Josephus?"

The fact is, Josephus is a most uncertain foundation on which to build. Even in cases where he can say *quorum pars magna fui* he sometimes is *startling* rather than *accurate*. Who would not like to see the stone that at Jotapata knocked off a man's head and sent it *three* furlongs? The Jews might indeed have called that a *sacred* stone. The proposal to convert the *two* garrisons which, according to the Bible and Josephus, Jonathan smote into *one* and the same sacred *stone*, upset first at Geba and then on Bozez, I still claim to describe fairly as "an *idol* fancy." Jonathan commanded a division and was no contemptible (2 Sam. i, 21) foe. Would Captain Conder, with a thousand men, himself prefer shattering a *stone* column of the enemy to a living one? Why then make a warrior like Jonathan into an iconoclast? On page 150 *seven* should be *six*.

The Nameless City.—I regret that Captain Conder and others should be in doubt as to what I think the true site. See, however, *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, page 49, line 7, and page 51, line 38.

The Tomb of the Kings.—I need hardly repeat that Captain Conder said "it is a *fact*" (not a conjecture of his) that the tomb of Nicodemus is this tomb. He says of me that I have been "equally confident" that I knew "the exact place of the tombs of the Kings, on more than one occasion, but in very different situations." Can he point out the passages in these pages on which he grounds this statement? Is *equal confidence* shown by the *if* in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, page 200, line 42, or by the *seven points* distinctly said to be *assumed* in 1881, page 97, 99, or in the position given in 1883, page 155, "an *area* of 450 *feet long by* 50 *feet broad!*" And is this description, or even *the less than forty yards* of 1880, page 170, at all to be compared to the precision of Captain Conder's site, viz., *the tomb of Nicodemus?*

I only refer to this point because I hope the Committee will be led to excavate specially for the Tomb of David. But how can this be until a site has been named of reasonable area, which can both stand against all adverse criticism and also have reasonable probability in its favour?

For Captain Conder, and others who have sought after Zion, to rally me on my failures or attempts is rash, as I can easily retort with crushing effect as follows.

True, I have been groping for six years on Ophel, so called—"an area of 10 or 15 acres"—for the entrance to the Tomb of David, *i.e.*, for a hole about 2 feet square, and buried some feet under the surface.

But others have also for years been running all about Jerusalem and looking everywhere for Zion except in the right place: one put the City of David on the Upper Hill, another at Antonia, another near the Holy

Sepulchre, another just east of it, another of larger ideas thought that the whole of Jerusalem formed the City of David. They have been wandering all over the 300 acres, minus my 15, and you have not yet found, and never will find, in all that area, either the door of David's tomb or the famous City of David, an object a few ten thousand times larger than what I have been seeking for.

Ophel (so called).—On page 194, 1883, Captain Conder speaks of this as "*a hill* which was only walled in by later kings;" but six lines after he finds fault with me for speaking wrongly of the same spot as "the hill" on the south of the Temple. I suppose he must have changed his mind in six lines. In exposing what I consider his radical errors about Jerusalem, I pointed out (1881, p. 97) what was apparently the position of Ophel. I can hardly blame him for not answering in detail the arguments given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 94–97, and 1883, pp. 152–154, as they are simply unanswerable. I hope, however, that he or any one else who dissents from my view will try to answer them.

The old wall.—Captain Conder, after observing that Josephus says, "The old wall built by David and Solomon began on the north at Hippicus," asks, "Is this another false statement?" I am not aware of having alluded to this statement, yet I think Josephus is very near the truth. I would observe, however, that Josephus goes on to add that the same old wall passing above Siloam reached as far as Ophel, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple. Captain Conder will, I suppose, admit that the part of the wall from Siloam to this south-east corner was on Ophel so called, and his favourite authority further gives it as part of *the old wall*. And yet (*mirabile dictu*) only two lines after, Captain Conder describes the very site of this part of the wall as "a hill which was only walled in by later kings." Thus he himself actually rejects the very description of Josephus about which two lines before he asked me, "Is this another false statement?" He says, "We" (*I* decline to be among the *we*) "are obliged to rely mainly on Josephus," and accordingly he will not allow me (if I wished) to say that the *beginning* of a statement of Josephus is false, while he himself, by his own *ipse dixit*, rejects the *end* of it as false.

The area of the City of David.—When I speak about *Zion, the City of David*, Captain Conder appals me with the area of *Jerusalem*. But the size of the former had no more to do with that of the latter, than the area of the Tower of London with that of the City of London. I have again and again shown that *Jerusalem* and *the City of David* (*i.e., Zion*) are not in the historical passages of the Bible identical. (See 1878, p. 183; 1880, p. 167; 1881, p. 97.)

Josephus, I am well aware, makes them the same, but the Bible does not; and who that cares for accuracy will believe what Josephus says, when he does not agree with the Bible? In this book of truth the line of distinction between Jerusalem and the City of David is sharply drawn. Of one or another king it is said quite twenty times, in the Kings and Chronicles, that he reigned in Jerusalem and was buried in the City of David. Surely

if the two terms meant just the same thing we should have had some instance of a king *reigning in the City of David*. Of Amaziah it is written (2 Kings xiv, 20), "He was buried *at Jerusalem* with his fathers *in the City of David*." Why add the latter words if the two places were identical?

And now, having disposed of all objections, let me loose a Parthian shaft. I have given arguments for the Valley of Hinnom, Zion, and Acra, which none can answer, and (if they are discreet) will not try to answer.

For five years I have been urging that the Tyropœon was (part of) the Valley of Hinnom, and that the City of David was solely on Ophel so called.

Enough for me now (further success I leave to others) to have got the thin end of the wedge into the Jerusalem error. That it is being driven home can hardly be denied, when while Captain Conder, on page 194, seeks to scare me with terrible conclusions that do not follow from my premises, independent critics are found maintaining the view I hold.

On pp. 213, 215, Professor Sayce says: "The key to the whole position is the *fact* that the south-eastern hill, the so-called Ophel, represents Zion, the City of David. This *fact* once granted—and it is now no longer possible to deny it—&c."

Again, Professor Robertson Smith, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," on Jerusalem, observes: "A third view places the City of David on the southern part of the Temple-hill, and this opinion is not only confirmed by the oldest post-Biblical traditions, but is the only view that does justice to the language of the Old Testament." I commend these two statements to Captain Conder's calm consideration.

Therefore to Zion's enemies, whose name is *legion*, I shout, Come on! You cannot get over the Biblical evidence. If *I* never strike another blow, the two Professors will "hold the bridge," and save the City of David from desolation.

I heartily agree with these two on the two points discussed, though I cannot at present go with them in the opinion that the Upper City of Josephus never formed part of fortified Jerusalem till after the time of Nehemiah. If I leave their theory in peace, a slow pen and doubtful leisure must bear the blame. I must make the same plea if I do not try to show in these pages that—

(1) Gibeah of Saul was at Kh. Adasah.

(2) The Cave of Adullam is the Cave of Khureitun.

(3) The perpendicular shaft at the Virgin's Fountain is "the Gutter" of 2 Samuel v, 8, though attributed to Hezekiah by all, I believe, except myself (1878, p. 184).

(4) The Tomb of David (so far as I can discover) was in the position given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 155.

I am glad to see an anonymous critic in *The Builder* (p. 545) coming to the aid of Captain Conder. This knight of the paper visor charges down upon my theory, confident of its destruction, and hopeful that the Fund will bury it by henceforth excluding from its pages "old unlearned speculations."

I pause not to discuss whether my theory is *old* or not, for I would rather at once cut his girth, and let him topple over.

This writer has a profound contempt of what I advance as "my arguments" for the true position of *Zion*. Accordingly, instead of labouring to meet them, he prefers re-echoing Captain Conder's declamation about the acres of *Jerusalem*.

"Great is Josephus!" cries the one; "Great is Josephus!" answers the other, and, as this historian says David called Jerusalem the City of David, it is vain for me, in a feeble tone, to interpose again and again that the City of David was only part of Jerusalem. I have doubted Josephus (a thing which Captain Conder does whenever it suits him). Therefore, I am to be overwhelmed with alternative billows of indignation and pity, on the ungrounded charge of having made Jerusalem no bigger than a hamlet. In vain from time to time I have taken pains to explain that the City of David stood only on Ophel (so called), and that Jerusalem and the City of David are not convertible terms (1883, p. 154). But what do these two writers? Instead of trying to show that the places were one and the same, Captain Conder begins by speaking of the City of David, and then, with charming simplicity (I should say *adroitness*, only I think he is unconscious of his own legerdemain), he slips in (p. 195) *Jerusalem*, instead of the City of David, in the words, "But Mr. Birch's *Jerusalem*, or City of David, is only 10 or 15 acres in area." After this, and tossing in *Moriah* (!) with a sort of *væ victis*, Captain Conder triumphantly shows that my statement, as doctored by him, is wrong; while the other returns after him only to spoil, and finds out that the Jews would have to occupy just one square yard apiece.

In 1878, p. 180, I made the following suggestion:—"Gennath = (?) Gehennath Gate = Gate of the Valley of Hinnom = Valley Gate (2 Chron. xxvi, 9; Neh. ii, 13; iii, 13)." Captain Conder borrowed this conjecture from me (I am not aware that I borrowed it from any one), and further, he did me the honour of putting it both in his plan and on p. 349 in the "Handbook" (1879), and there it remains to this day. Again, in 1879, I occupied three pages in tracing the general outline of Nehemiah's Jerusalem, referring to (if not inserting) his plan of 1877, and actually making my Jerusalem *larger* than his within the first and second walls of Josephus.

But now (oddly enough), in 1883, Captain Conder has quite forgotten his debt to me, and mine to him. He even ignores his own "Handbook," whose pages witness that my Jerusalem was no "hamlet" of "10 or 15 acres;" but occupied as great an area as his own.

Surely when the builder-on-sand critic tries to entice the Committee to cast me out, I may claim, by my appeal to the "Handbook," to have unhorsed Don Quixote. Why ever will some persons persist in advocating a *lost* cause?

I have to thank Mr. Besant for an admirable illustration, which I doubt not will make more converts than can pages of the closest argument. He says, "Did you ever see Old Sarum? It contained a cathedral with a

monastery, a castle, and a town ; all within a space large enough for a London square garden." The fortress of the Jebusites, *i.e.*, Zion, or the City of David, was just a place of this kind.

The cathedral	answers to the	tent pitched for the Ark.
„ monastery	„	houses for Obed-edom, &c.
„ castle	„	David's house.
„ rest of the town	„	the quarters of the *Gibborim* and other dwellings.
„ churchyard	„	the Sepulchres of David.

That "a city" was not necessarily a large place seems clear from 2 Kings x, 25, where "the city of the house of Baal" appears to describe the dwelling-place of Baal's priests.

W. F. Birch.

November 2nd, 1883.

HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS.

In connection with the article on Hebrew inscriptions, which I have read with deep interest in the *Quarterly Statement* of last October, may I hope that you will allow me to throw out a suggestion concerning another matter which I believe to be of great importance? In Jewish books we often meet with a contraction of the two letters אל, thus ל, which is not used in printing the Bible. The origin of this contraction has, so far as I know, never been investigated. Yet it is easily seen that if it was used by copyists of the Bible in early times, it was likely to have been a fruitful cause of very great mistakes. Hence, whilst students and explorers have their attention directed to the alphabets, I think it a good opportunity that they be requested, in the interest of textual criticism, as well as for other important purposes, to see also how far back they can discover this contraction to have existed. I believe I can see traces of it in the Septuagint in the following names :—

(1) Ιεμουηλ for חמול (Hamuel), Genesis xlvi, 12, and 1 Chronicles ii, 5. Any one studying the names of the Septuagint will know that ηλ, with another vowel before it at the end of a word, stands always for the Hebrew אל. See Ισραηλ, Σαμουηλ, φανουηλ, for פנואל, שמואל, ישראל. If there is no vowel before ηλ, it may represent only a ל with the vowel *Tsere* before it, as Εσηλ for אֶצֶל, Γαδηλ for גְּדֵל. If, then, we have here this termination standing for a ל only, what more likely than that the Seventy read the abbreviation ל, instead of the ל, especially as the name חמואל (Hamuel) also exists in 1 Chronicles iv, 26, and is rendered Αμουηλ?

(2) Another name in which a final ל seems similarly to have been taken for נ, is במהל ; 1 Chronicles vii, 33 rendered Βαμαηλ.

(3) Another name with ע mistaken for ל, is ירחע (Jarha), 1 Chronicles ii, 34, 35, rendered Ιωχηλ, which should be Ιορχηλ, because ω is often a corruption of two letters which in the Uncial alphabet have some roundness about them.

(4) Then we have, 1 Chronicles v, 32, 37, Μαριηλ for מריות, which seems to show that their contraction was sometimes written thus, מל.

(5) It is also well known that names beginning with אל in Hebrew have Ελ in Greek. Hence, 1 Chronicles xv, 18, και Ελιωηλ for ועני (and Unni), shows that they read ועלני, and rendered it και Ελιωναι, a name of frequent occurrence, and occasionally corrupted in the Septuagint. Here it is corrupted into Ελιωηλ, for η is often interchanged with ν, and λ with α. (See Appendix I in my "Scripture Onomatology.")

In all these passages, whether the contraction really existed in the Hebrew, or was only imagined to exist, the proof that the translators were acquainted with it is the same.

(6.) The final and superfluous ηλ of the last word in 1 Chronicles xii, 5, Χαραιδιηλ for חריפי (Haruphite), I believe proves the same in a different way. It does not occupy the place of other letters, but evidently represents a mistaken repetition of the אל of the first word of the next verse, אלקנה, rendered Ελκανα. But such repetitions between two words following each other, though very frequent with single letters, occur very seldom if ever with two or more consecutive letters. Therefore the first cause of the above mistake must have been the אל having been written in a contracted form in their copy.

E. Flecker.

THE SITE OF EMMAUS.

The identification of *Urtâs* with Emmaus is one of the most interesting discoveries recently made in Palestine. It is remarkable that the scene of our Savour's journey with His two disciples on the day on which He rose from the dead should have remained unknown for nearly two thousand years, though extending only to a short distance of seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. It is evident that the locality was not meant to remain concealed, for Luke gives the name of the village to which the Lord and His disciples went, and also its distance from the city—both of which are also given by Josephus, the Jewish historian. In the *Quarterly Statement* for January last year Mrs. Finn has furnished the most conclusive evidence in favour of *Urtâs*, and excluded all other claims. When her home was in the Holy Land she visited every valley within the circuit of sixty furlongs from

Jerusalem, but found none with a sufficient supply of water for the baths mentioned by Josephus, except the valley of Etham, in which is the pretty village of *Urtâs*, a little to the south of Bethlehem. At length excavations were made on the spot, and in these she had the valuable aid of Mr. Cyril Graham ; and among the ruins were discovered the walls of the fortification which had been built most probably by the Roman soldiers to whom, Josephus says, the Emperor Vespasian granted the place. Baths too were discovered, and the name *Hammâm*, signifying baths, was found to be preserved among the *Fellahin* of the locality—a name which corresponds to the Hebrew Hammath and the Greek Emmaus. The name *Urtâs* is evidently a corruption of *Hortus*—a name which the Roman soldiers gave to the place from the gardens of Solomon, which were in this locality. Similar changes of names we have in Nablous for Neapolis, and Jaffa for Joppa.

The evidence in favour of *Urtâs* as the true Emmaus appears to me to be complete, no link in the chain being wanting ; and had I known the story of this discovery three years ago, this knowledge would have materially enhanced the interest with which I made the journey from Jerusalem to *Urtâs*. Mrs. Finn deserves great credit for the indomitable perseverance with which she prosecuted her inquiry for ten years, and for the clear statement of the details by which her identification of the site has been fully established.

It is somewhat disappointing, however, to find that Dr. Edersheim, in his elaborate and meritorious work on the "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," gives a very imperfect account of Mrs. Finn's discovery, and refuses to accept of *Urtâs* as the true site of Emmaus. His objection is, that the baths at *Urtâs* were not filled by hot springs, but only by water artificially heated ; and he seems to think that this objection sets aside the whole evidence in favour of the discovery. In a volcanic country like Palestine the hot springs of one period may afterwards have become cold ; but there is a well-known hot spring near the shore of the Sea of Galilee and there may have been one, two thousand years ago, in the valley of Etham. Besides, hot springs are not necessary in order to having warm baths ; and it is well known that the Romans had artificial hot baths in their bathing establishments. The name Emmaus does not signify hot springs, but warm baths, which might be obtained either by natural or artificial means.

Dr. Edersheim contends for *Beit Mizza* as the site of Emmaus—a contention for which there seems to me not the shadow of evidence, but, on the contrary, insuperable objections. As he objects to *Urtâs* on the ground that there are no hot springs for baths there, his readers might at first suppose that he must have found such springs at *Beit Mizza ;* but he finds no hot springs there, and no baths, either hot or cold ! He ought to have been sure that the necessary springs are there, before adducing their absence as an insuperable objection in another case. If their absence is good against *Urtâs*, it is equally good against *Beit Mizza*. But it is a fatal objection to his foundling, that the place is only about four miles from Jerusalem—as he will see by consulting No. 17 of the large Map of the Exploration Fund. As

the crow flies, it is about the same distance from Jerusalem as *Kolonieh*, and it is only a mile distant from the latter place. Dr. Edersheim has been misled by a writer in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1881 (p. 237); but the supposed discovery is a pure fiction, with not one good argument in its favour. In all probability the original writer has abandoned it after seeing Mrs. Finn's conclusive paper. But Dr. Edersheim had written a description of our Saviour's journey under a certain supposition regarding the *terminus ad quem;* and when Mrs. Finn's paper informed him that he ought to turn from the city to the south instead of the north-west, he might have yielded by cancelling a page of his book, and substituting Mrs. Finn's delightful narrative. But he lost his opportunity and still asserts, "I regard *Beit Mizza* as the real Emmaus." Let the reader compare with Dr. Edersheim's note the summary we have given of the evidence in support of Mrs. Finn's discovery, or, what is better still, her whole paper in the January number of the *Quarterly Statement*, and we are persuaded that the comparison will lead to the conviction that now at last in *Urtâs* we have found the true Emmaus.

P. Mearns.

Coldstream.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING NEBUCHADNEZZAR ON LEBANON.

(*Reprinted from the "Times" of December 29th*, 1883.)

Fortunately, from time to time some consoling genuine discovery is made to compensate us for the too frequent vexation caused us by the Syrian forgers. Here is one quite recent, which the readers of the *Times* will have the pleasure of being the first to become acquainted with, and which they may, I can guarantee, accept with entire confidence. It has been communicated only some hours since to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, by one of its most distinguished members, M. Barbier de Meynard, the well-known Orientalist. I am able to give a substantial account of it after the original documents, which have been placed at my disposal.

The matter is two large unknown inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, found on Lebanon by M. Pognon, Assistant-Consul of the French Republic at Beyrout. It must be confessed that such a discovery could not have fallen into better hands. M. Pognon is a young Assyriologist, who has already given proof of his capacity by some excellent publications, such as that of the "Inscription of Bavian." He is one of the most brilliant scholars of the École des Hautes Études, where I have had personally the opportunity of appreciating his worth, when he attended my lectures upon Oriental archæology. One cannot but congratulate him upon the good fortune which has fallen to his lot, and of which he is in every way

deserving. These texts are engraved on the rock, in the Wadi-Brissa, one of the wildest valleys on the eastern slope of Lebanon, about two hours from Hermel, a village situated near the Orontes, and well known by a curious Phœnician or Syrian monument, which has often been described. The two inscriptions are placed opposite to each other on the right and left of the pathway occupying the hollow of the valley. They measure about 5 mètres 50 in breadth by 2 mètres 80 in height. They are written, the one in archaic and the other in cursive cuneiform characters, forming a whole of 19 columns. Each one is accompanied by a *basso-rilievo*. That of the first inscription represents a personage with the Assyrian tiara as head-dress, turned towards the left, and seizing an animal standing erect on its hind legs, possibly a lion. Behind this personage there must have been the image of a divinity; it has completely disappeared, but one can still read underneath :—

"To the goddess . . . . . .
"Who exalts . . . . . .
"Who inhabits the temple of Goula, the temple. . . . .
". . . . . .
". . . . . .

The *basso-rilievo* of the second inscription represents a man in adoration before a tree with a rather curiously-shaped pointed cap on his head, somewhat similar to the mitre, closed at the top, which is worn now-a-days by bishops.

The two inscriptions each contain a different text. They commence by the titles of Nebuchadnezzar :—"Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the Illustrious Pastor, the servant of Merodak, the great Lord, his Creator, and of Nebo, his illustrious son, whom his Royalty loves."

Unluckily the two inscriptions do not comprise any historical passage. The king merely gives an account of the buildings he is having constructed in Babylon. A great number of passages are reproduced, with different readings of more or less importance, in texts already known. Especially may one read, in the fourth column of the inscription written in cursive characters, in a phrase which is by mishap mutilated, the enumeration of the wines figuring on the table of the god Merodak and of the goddess Zarpanit, which enumeration is already to be found on the cylinder of Phillips. However that may be, these two texts, as comprehensive as neatly engraved, would be of great value if they were not in a deplorable state of obliteration. The lower part of one of the two inscriptions and the middle of the other have entirely disappeared, and that which remains is much damaged. Some nomadic Metualis have asserted to M. Pognon that less than ten years ago, a Moghrabi, passing through Hermel, had the inscriptions shown to him, and had cut through the rock, hoping to find a treasure. This tradition seems very credible, for the stone has been cut away to the depth of several centimètres with an iron instrument. There may still be found on the ground some broken fragments of the *basso-rilieva*, proving that the mutilation of the monument is quite recent.

Do the inscriptions of Wadi-Brissa indicate the place where the armies of Nebuchadnezzar passed? M. Pognon does not think so. He is rather of opinion that these texts mark the site of a timber-yard, where trees were cut to be sent to Babylon. The name of Lebanon is repeated several times in mutilated sentences, where it is a question as to the wood employed in Nebuchadnezzar's buildings. The absence of all historical indication would be inexplicable if the inscriptions had been engraved in commemoration of the passage of the armies of the Babylonian conqueror.

M. Pognon has taken squeezes of the two inscriptions, and will publish them shortly. It is very desirable that at least photographs of them should be executed, and mouldings taken, before the originals, already so seriously injured and exposed to the vandalism of the natives, have suffered new and irretrievable harm. The treasure-seekers are, in fact, one of the scourges of antiquities in Syria. I know it from personal experience, and I have often, alas! found too visible traces of their manner of investigating the ancient monuments. Some day I will give a few curious details on this subject. I will now only incidentally remark that the archæologist can occasionally turn to account this kind of Arab lunatics, devoured by their thirst after gold.

The supposition of M. Bognon on the general purport of these two texts becomes very probable if one compares it with certain facts more or less known, which I will allow myself to point out or to recall.

In the first place, we are aware, from the other inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar which have reached us, that the great King of Babylon employed a considerable quantity of wood for his sumptuous building of temples and palaces. In one of these inscriptions, preserved in the British Museum, he even says expressly "that he has employed for the woodwork of the Chamber of Oracles the largest of the trees which he has had conveyed from Mount Lebanon."

At all times, moreover, Lebanon appears to us as an inexhaustible source of building timber. Every one remembers the timber—cedar and fir—cut in Lebanon and sent by Hiram, King of Tyre, to David and to Solomon for the construction of the Temple and the Royal Palace at Jerusalem.

The prophets show us, on different occasions, the forests of fir trees covering the slopes of this celebrated mountain as the "Glory (*Kabod*) of Lebanon." It is from Lebanon that the Phœnicians, and after them the conquerors of Syria, obtained the materials for their naval constructions. Lebanon, which had in this respect furnished precious resources to Alexander and his successors, played the same part until the Roman epoch. All that part of High Lebanon comprised between Sannin and the Pass of the Cedars, in the middle region of Toula, as far as Semar Jebeil, is still covered with hundreds of Latin inscriptions, engraved on the rock, and reserving for the State, as M. Renan has shown perfectly, in the name of the Emperor Hadrian, the four species of trees necessary, according to Vegetius, for the requirements of the Imperial fleets—the pine, the larch, the fir, and the cedar (*Imperator Hadrianus Augustus: arborum genera* iv ; *cetera privata*).

It is curious to compare this epigraphic document with a verse of Isaiah (lx, 13), which appears to me to offer a striking similarity to it—"The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the *berosch*, the *tidhar*, and the *teashour* together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary." The *berosch*, the *tidhar*, and the *teashour* (the improbable box of the Authorised Version) seem designated as four resinous species, upon the botanical identity of which there is a difference of opinion. Add to these three trees the cedar comprised in the parallelism, under the usual metaphor of the glory of Lebanon, and you obtain the very four species which are mentioned in the inscriptions of Hadrian and correspond with those enumerated by Vegetius.

It may not be impossible that the two inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar may be referred, at an interval of several centuries, to a similar order of ideas, and concern, in all or part, the preservative measures taken by the king for the forests, whose working was the privilege of the Crown. Nebuchadnezzar is not, moreover, the first foreign conqueror who has utilised the riches of Lebanon. On the *basso-rilievos* of the bronze gates of Ballawat one sees the Assyrian soldiers of Shalmanazar II carrying down beams of cedar wood from Lebanon. We know, from other sources, that this king, after having received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal, had his statue erected in Lebanon, where he had been to get cedar wood on the mountain of Bahli-Rashi. It is perhaps also in the neighbourhood of Hermel, and not, as was thought, at the mouth of the Dog River, that it would be advisable to seek the monument of Shalmanazar II executed on this occasion.

One might easily multiply these comparisons borrowed from the Assyrian documents. I will limit myself to mention only one more, the inscription of Assurnatzir-Pal, discovered at Ballawat by M. Rassam, and recently studied with success by Mr. E. A. Budge. One may read at the lines 24–27, "To the land of Lebanon I went; beams of cedar (*erini*), *surman* wood, cypress wood (*daprani*) I cut down." However that may be, the inscriptions and *basso-rilievos* of Nebuchadnezzar are worthy to be put beside the well-known monuments left in Syria by the Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors, as testimonies of their passage through Phœnicia, not far from there, in the valley of the Dog River, north of Beyrout. The discovery of M. Pognon proves that Lebanon has not yet said its last word, and that an accurate exploration of this vast tract of mountains would, perhaps, produce new and still more valuable discoveries of the same kind. We must not forget that there remains to be found, among other things, the great Phœnician sanctuary, where the mountain, itself deified, was adored under the name of Baal-Lebanon. The existence of this topic Baal is attested by the bronze cup dedicated to him by a *soken* of an undetermined city, namesake of the classical Carthage, a personage whom I have formerly demonstrated to have been a high functionary of Hiram, King of the Sidonians.

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

GENUINE AND FALSE INSCRIPTIONS IN PALESTINE.

(Reprinted from the "Times.")

The Holy Land, among other privileges, possesses one not much to be envied. Among all the regions of the ancient world it is the one that, until now, is noticeable by the greatest sterility as regards the production of ancient monuments. And yet Palestine, that country so small upon the map but so large in history, occupies so considerable a place in the annals of humanity that it is above all there one would wish to exhume some of those contemporary documents of events, those authentic witnesses of the past, which arise abundantly from the soil of Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, and Italy. What would we not give to be able to confront the Bible with such witnesses, and to call forth from the ground of Palestine stones or books that would speak to us of its history during the Jewish period, and would permit us to examine the Biblical narrations with the strictness required in these days by science! In spite of active and repeated researches, of considerable pecuniary sacrifices, it is only within the last twelve or thirteen years that a few happy discoveries have been made which have broken this epigraphical silence of the Holy Land, and encouraged the efforts of future explorers by showing that, if Palestine is sparing of her treasures, she is, nevertheless, not absolutely disinherited in this respect, and that one might reasonably hope to obtain others from her.

The number is unfortunately soon counted of the inscriptions of Palestine, discovered until now, which carry us back to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, a decisive moment marking the end of political Judaism. As many as seven may be enumerated. The earliest in date and the most important is the Moabite Stone, which I had the good fortune to get out of the clutches of the Bedouins. This inestimable document, written in Phœnician characters and Moabite language, a dialect closely related to Hebrew, may unquestionably be considered as an original page of the Bible, dated with certainty the ninth century before our era. It gives a detailed account of the political and religious struggles between Moab and Israel, from David to Jehoshaphat, and furnishes us with a singularly instructive counterpart of the narratives of this period, contained in the Second Book of Kings. It further possesses the advantages, perhaps still superior, of giving us the most ancient known specimen of alphabetical letters; of those twenty-two Phœnician characters come to us through the Greeks and Romans—that is to say, the prototype itself of our A. B. C., of that universal instrument used by the greater part of the civilised world to express and fix thought.

The Moabite Stone is a Hebrew document; it is not, properly speaking, an Israelite document. The city of Jerusalem itself has furnished us with as many as four really Israelite inscriptions. They all four present this

peculiarity, that of being engraved in a cartouch or hollow framing on the rock, thus being localised with entire certainty. There are, first, two inscriptions, unfortunately much mutilated, discovered by me in 1870, upon the exterior wall of a cave, hollowed out of the rock, in Selwan, at the very gates of Jerusalem. They are also in archaic characters of Phœnician form, and anterior to the destruction of the kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans, in 588 B.C. Afterwards comes an extremely curious inscription discovered about three years since by some Arab children who were bathing in the spring of Siloam, at the foot of Jerusalem. It is the narrative, in archaic characters, also engraved on the rock, of the operation accomplished by the Israelitish engineers, who had dug under Mount Moriah a tunnel more than 500 mètres long, and which is still in existence. It is, on a small scale, a work similar to the St. Gothard and Mount Cenis tunnels. Finally, in 1881, I ascertained the existence of a fourth inscription of a similar kind, engraved over the door of a pretty little monolith naos, of Egyptian style, cut in one piece out of the rock. This monument, erected in the midst of the village of Selwan, and which has always attracted the attention of travellers and tourists, without any one having suspected the existence of an inscription, may henceforth be by good rights considered as an authentic specimen of Israelitish architecture of the period of the Kings of Judah.

To these five inscriptions may be added two others—the inscriptions of Gezer and the stela of the Temple of Jerusalem. The inscriptions of Gezer consist of a group of four bilingual epigraphs, Greek and Hebrew, also cut in the rock, in a part of Palestine which I had proved ten years ago to be the site, vainly sought until then, of the Royal Canaanite city of Gezer. Two years after having given this merely theoretical demonstration, which was then not received without objection, I was fortunate enough to discover, on the ground itself, these four inscriptions, which give an unhoped-for confirmation of it, since they contain, at full length, this brief but decisive mention, repeated as many as three times—"limit (*tehum*) of Gezer." The writing is less ancient than that of the preceding inscriptions, and brings us to the epoch of the Maccabees. But it is still a document plainly belonging to the true Judaic history. The stela of the Temple is a monument which, although less ancient than the Moabite Stone, and written in the Greek, and not the Hebrew language, is nevertheless on a par with it as regards historical value. If the Moabite Stone is, in some measure, an original page of the Old Testament, the stela of the Temple is undoubtedly an authentically original page of the New. This stela, which I discovered in 1871, in the foundations of an old Arab edifice, close to the Mosque of Omar, contains in reality the text itself of the famous law forbidding, under pain of death, to the Gentiles, the entrance of the sacred precincts of the Temple, reconstructed by Herod. It is, by virtue of this law, invoked by the enraged Jews, that the Apostle Paul, after having with great difficulty escaped tumultuary execution, was dragged before the Roman tribunal.

There are, therefore, as I have said, in all, seven inscriptions only, belonging with certitude to the old historical past of Palestine. By a piece

of good luck, six of these have fallen to my share. I do not take into account the Israelite seals, now tolerably numerous, of which I recently published some fine specimens,[1] neither the stamped handles of amphoræ, discovered in 1869 by Colonel Warren, R.E. These little intaglios and these fragments of pottery, which constitute, so to speak, the small change of ancient Israelitish epigraphy, are, in fact, by their nature, of too uncertain origin. I also exclude the Jewish ossuaries with Hebraic inscriptions, also the epitaphs in the Necropolis of Joppa, and of a few sepulchres in Palestine, of which I have collected and published a sufficiently large number. Their antiquity, according to my idea, has been exaggerated, and if some of these small epigraphs, otherwise without historical interest, can strictly be traced back to the commencement of the Christian era, the greater part of them are, in my opinion, subsequent to Titus.

Perhaps, strictly, one might add another (eighth) number to this too short list—the sarcophagus discovered by M. de Saulcy in the Q'bour el Molouk, and bearing a double epitaph in Aramæan and in Hebrew—"The Queen Saddan or Sadda." It is quite impossible to accept for an instant the conjecture of M. de Saulcy, who thought to have found therein the very body of a queen of the old kingdom of Judah. I think I am able to show that this Queen Saddan, quite unknown historically, is none other than the Queen Helena of Adiabene herself. This illustrious Jewish proselyte must have had, according to the fashion of those times, a double name—one Greek, Helena, the other, Semitic, and national, Saddan. This monument is, therefore, only indirectly connected with Jewish archæology, It is probably to remedy this dearth of ancient monuments that there were established at Jerusalem several years ago certain manufactories for the fabrication of antiquities at prices sometimes moderate, sometimes fairly remunerative, not only for the benefit of tourists, but also of *savants*, which is more serious.

First, there are the spurious antique coins. That is a trifling matter, and *Messieurs les faussaires* are here almost in their right, the more so as their industry is not fraught with danger to the real connoisseur. There are fabricated readily at Jerusalem apocryphal silver shekels for the delectation of tourists greedy after antiquities, who would return home disconsolate if they did not take back from their pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a precious souvenir some counterfeit specimen of the coins of the Maccabees. The forgers are not always satisfied with imitating more or less cleverly from real models. They sometimes invent. Some years ago there were to be found in the bazaars at Jerusalem bronze coins of Moses, which met with great success. They represented on one side the head of the Hebrew law-giver, adorned with magnificent ram's horns; on the other, Hebraic legends taken from Mosaic books. The legends were, it is true, in square—that is to say, modern characters, but the amateurs did not look into things so closely.

[1] "Sceaux et Cachets Israélites, Phéniciens et Syriens, suivis d'Epigraphes Phéniciennes inédites." Paris: E. Leroux, 1883. (With two plates.)

Generally this gang of Syrian forgers have no great imagination. They are not properly inventors; they are rather dull imitators. Their productions are generally connected more or less ingeniously, either by the external or internal conditions, either by the circumstances of time and place with some important archæological discovery. If by chance some authentic and antique object is discovered, they at once set to work and reproduce it for better or for worse, often for worse, or imitate it servilely. Here is a curious and hitherto unmentioned example, taken from another ground than that of Palestine, but contiguous to it. I received some years ago from M. Mordtmann, of Constantinople, a small figurine in terra-cotta, very prettily modelled, and still retaining traces of ancient gilding. It represents a winged bull half kneeling. The figurine is hollow and shaped in the form of an antique lamp. In the middle of the back is a large hole intended to receive the oil; on the top of the head a smaller hole is disposed to allow the wick to pass, and the flame to shine between the two horns. The curved tail of the animal serves as a handle to hold the lamp. This little idol, apparently a reminiscence of the Golden Calf, bears on the left and on the right hip a double Phœnician inscription, engraved in the clay before the baking. The whole thing has really not a bad appearance. The Phœnician inscription begins on the right and continues on the left hip; it can be easily read—"Yehaumelek, son of Yirpel." The figure is a perfect forgery. I can prove it easily. The modern modeller has merely copied the name of Yehaumelek, King of Byblos, whose stela, found at Yebail, and recently published by M. de Vogüé, had made some noise in Syria. Upon the original stela, slightly defaced in this place, the name of the father, or rather the grandfather, is very difficult to decipher. The forger, puzzled, as have been the *savants* themselves, has read and transcribed it fancifully, being perhaps influenced by the existence of the Biblical name of locality Yirpal (Josh. xviii, 27). I have never been able to ascertain exactly the studio whence this little monument was issued, the execution of which betrays a far cleverer hand than that which formed the Moabite potteries.

The forgers execute inscriptions readily, and that can be understood; for an inscription is a *rara avis* in Palestine, and consequently much sought after. The discovery of the Moabite Stone and that of the stela of the Temple have given new scope for the activity of the forgers, over-excited by the powerful stimulant of cupidity. It may be said that in this respect the Moabite Stone, which gave birth to the false Moabite potteries of Berlin, thousands in number, has been a true *Mère Gigogne* The Moabitica, as they are called in Germany, are, in fact, its direct offspring. It was destined at an interval of ten years to serve as a basis for a fraud of at least equal importance—that of the Biblical manuscript of Mr. Shapira. The first of these frauds was successful; the second was luckily a failure, after having, nevertheless, been too far on the road to success.

To those who might be inclined to think that it is taking a great deal of trouble, and conferring much honour on those archæological frauds to

unmask and judge them publicly, that it is making much ado about nothing, that it would suffice to condemn and to execute them with closed doors among *savants*, I can only reply by quoting the words of a judge whose authority no one can question :—

"The precautions against spurious Oriental monuments have been superfluous until of late years ; in future they will become necessary, and add to the difficulty of studies already so full of impediments."[1]

"The forgers threaten soon to cause so many obstacles to the study of epigraphy and Oriental archæology, that we must place among the most signal services that of unmasking these kinds of fabrications."[2]

These words were pronounced by the illustrious and incontested chief of Semitic studies shortly after my having succeeded, not without trouble, in putting an end to the mystification of the Moabite potteries of Berlin. "It was fortunate," added M. Renan, "that this regretable error was overthrown by evidence, so to say, material. . . . With the same stroke M. Clermont-Ganneau has anticipated more than one mystification for the future." It is a fact that the forgers, slightly discomfited after the heavy blow they had received, had kept quiet during ten years. With time they gained fresh courage, and organised the colossal fraud of the Shapira manuscript. Again unmasked, it is probable that they will leave us in peace for some years. But that kind of people are never disheartened. After a while, when their misdeeds are consigned to oblivion, they will set to work anew, and we must not despair of seeing, some day, spring from their inexhaustible manufactories the mended pieces of the Tables of the Law, broken on Mount Sinai, or the Blue Book from the Foreign Office of Mount Sion, the diplomatic correspondence of Solomon with King Hiram, and his private amatory epistles to the Queen of Sheba.

The affairs of the Moabite crockery and that of the Shapira manuscript are now too well known to be again discussed here ; they belong henceforth to history. I wish to speak of other less known forgeries, which I have met with during my explorations in Palestine. Although of minor consequence, they are, however, deserving of notice, if only to throw a full light upon the manœuvres of the "bande noire," which has taken the Holy Land as the scene of its exploits. I intend, moreover to publish shortly a book[3] containing a detailed study of the whole of the Palestinian forgeries, great and small.

In the month of May, 1871, I discovered at Jerusalem the stela of the Temple, of which I have previously spoken. I exerted myself to the utmost to obtain the original ; in spite of considerable sacrifices, unfortunately, I failed, in consequence of the obstinacy of the Mussulman possessors of the house under whose foundations the stela was built up. I was obliged, just at that time, to leave Jerusalem, having been summoned to our Embassy at Constantinople. The negotiations were, therefore,

[1] E. Renan. "Rapport Annuel," *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet, 1876, p. 37.

[2] E. Renan. "Rapport Annuel," *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet, 1874, p. 30.

[3] "Les Fraudes Archéologiques en Palestine," with engravings. Paris : E. Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte.

forcibly broken off. The rumour had, meanwhile, reached the ears of the Turkish governor. He was convinced, from the interest taken by me in the matter, that this discovery must be a great treasure. The very day of my departure, he gave orders to remove the stela, without more ado, and to deposit it in the Seraï. It was to be forwarded to Constantinople. In fact, after having lain a few months in the Seraï, it was despatched *viâ* Jaffa, but it never reached its destination. It is now some twelve years since this event, and the stone is still looked for at Constantinople. It must have been sold for a good price to some European, and I have no doubt that it will one day reappear from its hiding-place, after a lapse of time sufficient for the prescription, in some great public collection. What I am certain of is that substantial offers were, after my departure, made to the governor by the representatives of certain foreign Powers at Jerusalem, and I have it from a reliable auricular witness, that the governor had asked one of them the sum of £2,000 sterling. A little later, he would have been satisfied with 1,500 Turkish pounds. I also know that his secretary had written to a well-known Parisian Israelitish financier, proposing to him the acquisition of this unique monument of Jewish history. But this appeal to the national feelings fell on deaf ears, and the governor was obliged to go elsewhere. The fact is, that the stela of the Temple has disappeared from the horizon, and that no one knows, or is willing to tell, what has become of it.

As for me, I had given up all hope, when, scarcely arrived at Constantinople, I received from a friend of mine at Jerusalem, an unexpected piece of news. A Christian Arab, of the Holy City, named Martin Boulos, whom I had employed in the unsuccessful negotiations for obtaining the monument, called upon him on the 30th of September. He brought him the rough copy of Greek letters, engraved, he said, on a stone, quite similar to the other, and built up, like it, in the wall of an Arab house. He undertook to take it away, and to deliver it up to me for a good round sum. The thing was not, *à priori*, as unlikely as might be thought, for we know from authentic sources, from Flavius Josephus, that there were several stelæ identical with that discovered by me, not only in Greek, but also in Latin, erected at intervals along the sacred precincts surrounding the area of the Temple. This might, therefore, possibly be a second stela that Martin Boulos had picked up. Nevertheless, the almost simultaneous discovery of these twin sisters was, it must be confessed, a most astonishing coincidence. Moreover, I knew that Martin Boulos was, by profession, a stone-worker, that he had often engraved epitaphs upon tombstones for the cemetery in Jerusalem, added to which I knew from experience his unscrupulousness, and I had the firm conviction that he had betrayed me in the very transaction in which I had employed him as an agent.

I immediately suspected a fraud, coupled with an attempt to swindle me. I lost no time in writing to my friend, to put him on his guard, at the same time urging him to let the fellow entangle himself to the utmost. He appeared again ; after the copy he brought the squeeze of the stone. Then a comedy began, which lasted no less than three months before

arriving at the anticipated catastrophe, and amusing details of which are not wanting. I received regular information from my friend. First, there were all kinds of difficulties made to show the pretended original, which happened to be in a house adjacent to that where I had discovered the stela. They feared to rouse once more the attention of the governor. The landlord was afraid, and he and his Mussulman confederates made incessant demands for money, to indemnify the one or purchase the silence of the other, &c. On the 24th of November, my friend at last succeeded in being taken to the place where lay the treasure. He was conducted to it most cautiously, at 5 o'clock in the morning, to a little dark stable, where a donkey was stalled. The ass began to bray, and threatened to denounce to the neighbours the presence of visitors who walked stealthily. Feigned terror of the bystanders. The unlucky animal was silenced by having its tail pulled, an infallible recipe, it appears, for closing the mouths of loquacious donkeys. The alarm over, my friend was shown the famous stone, fitted into a recess in one of the walls of the stable, and partly loosened. It was placed in exactly the same position as the other—that is to say, the line descending vertically.

Some days after this little got-up play, which seemed to have produced the desired effect, Martin Boulos, thinking the affair ripe, succeeded in taking away the stone, and took it in triumph to my friend. It was then that an unexpected thunderclap occurred. My friend told him plainly that the stone was a mere forgery. Martin Boulos was forced to confess his guilt, and went away, leaving his pretended stela in the hands of him he would have cheated, only too glad to have got off so cheaply.

When I returned to Jerusalem in 1873, I found the stela of Martin Boulos deposited in the Franciscan Convent of St. Sauveur. I took a photograph of it as a curiosity. The false stela has much the same dimensions as the original, only the impostor has chosen, as less difficult to work, a softer limestone. The inscription is copied line for line and letter for letter. But the modern engraver has committed numerous errors, either in confusing one letter with another, or in joining together separate characters, or in leaving blank spaces in the parts too much defaced to be deciphered by him.

The false stela of the Temple was not long without its pendant. I find in my note-book the following lines, written before my departure for Constantinople, proving that Martin Boulos was already busy preparing his forgeries: "Martin had found in the village a stone with inscription, half buried; only two lines were visible above ground." I left Jerusalem without having had the leisure to verify this statement, which, at this time, I had no reason to suspect. It was, in fact, a false monument, as I afterwards acquired the material proof.

The reason which determined the imposter to localise it at Selwan was that I had discovered some months before at this place, and had cut from the rock, the two archaic Hebrew inscriptions before mentioned. This tit-bit was apparently reserved for me. My sudden departure baffled Martin Boulos, who sought other dupes.

It appears from a letter addressed to me by Brother Lievin, on the 25th of February, 1872, that the pretended inscription was introduced into the Jerusalem market about this time. Negotiations were entered into on the matter with M. Mourad Hilperu and Mr. Shapira, antiquity dealers in the Holy City. The latter had had, at least, a squeeze of the inscription in his hands. I do not know whether it is through the medium of one of these persons that it was sold or re-sold to its final purchaser. At any rate, a very learned and honest man living in Jerusalem was taken in and induced to buy the stone. When I returned to the Holy Land in 1874 I had occasion to examine the monument itself, and I took a photograph of it. It was not without trouble that I succeeded in undeceiving its possessor, who firmly believed in the authenticity of the inscription. It is a very hard block of limestone. The inscription is composed of eight lines of Greek characters, not deeply engraved, out of which it is impossible to make any sense. Scarcely can here and there be recognised a few incoherent and barbarously spelt words. It is probably this puzzling feature which raised the curiosity of the buyer, and made him fall into the trap. He is a clever Greek scholar, and it is certain that put before a translatable inscription, such as the clumsy reproduction of the stela of the Temple, he would have recognised the imposture at first sight.

The forger had this time very cunningly placed himself on the footing of untranslatableness. These tactics have been employed with full success in the fabrication of the Moabite crockery, whose purely fantastical epigraphs have deluded the most learned interpreters of Germany, and have, just on that account, determined their conviction. The characters of the false Greek inscription of Selwan visibly proceed, moreover, as regards shape, from those of the stela of the Temple. Although the forger has carefully refrained from reproducing the same words, he has unconsciously fallen again into certain combinations of letters, betraying the model placed before his eyes. At the same time Brother Lievin sent me the squeeze, or the copies of a series of pretended ancient monuments, recently discovered, and stored in the shop or the back shop of M. Mourad Hilperu and of Mr. Shapira. I immediately perceived that they were apocryphal, and I hastened to put my friend on his guard against this attempt, where I easily discerned the working of a bold and enterprising band of forgers, whose leaders were personally known to me.

It was, first, the reproduction, pretty well executed, on stone, of a Nabathean inscription from Oumm-er-resâs, of which I possessed, since 1869, a squeeze. This squeeze, offered by me to the Commission of the Corpus Inscriptionum, Semiticarum, through the medium of M. de Vogüé, has been the object of a learned study by this latter and by M. Renan. I at once recognised my old acquaintance. Afterwards came the copy, in pencil, of a second inscription, not less fantastic than the first. It is the one which Mr. Koch, in his work[1] on the Moabite pottery, represented on his Plate IV, No. 2. The eager champion of the authenticity of the

[1] "Moabitisch oder Selimisch." Stuttgart, 1876.

Moabite crockery has not seen that this inscription is another reproduction, extremely disfigured, of the inscription of Oumm-er-resâs! It is sufficient to reverse his drawing, which he has placed upside down, and to compare it letter for letter with the said inscription, for the thing to become immediately obvious, although the characters are interpreted in the most artless manner, and several of them have been omitted.

Next appeared a grotesque head of a statue in limestone, ornamented on the neck and on the skull with unlikely Moabite inscriptions. In 1874 I took a photograph of this head, which, it was asserted, had been dug up at Jerusalem itself, and was estimated by its possessor at £20 sterling. It presents a curious particularity in its coarseness. The features recall in a striking manner those of Martin Boulos himself. This unconscious imitation is a well-known occurrence in the primitive arts, where the artist reproduces, so as to speak, unconsciously, his individual or ethnical type. Again, there was produced an illegible inscription, engraved on a fragment of a porphyry column, an inscription of Medeba, containing it was asserted the account of a victory gained over the Moabites by the Israelites, under the command of Moses.

J'en passe et des meilleurs. I will, however, make an exception for the following case :—In a letter, dated October 28, 1871, Brother Lievin sent me, from Jerusalem to Constantinople, the copy, in pencil, of an inscription which had been forwarded to him by Martin Boulos. The latter pretended to have obtained this copy from a Bedouin. The original existed, according to him, in a locality situated beyond Jordan. Shortly afterwards I received a squeeze. The inscription is composed of four lines of Phœnician characters, clumsily imitated from those of the Moabite Stone, and pleasantly intermingled with Greek letters. Underneath are three lines of cuneiform characters. The presence of the cuneiform on this new specimen of forgery was in no way surprising to me, for I had obtained, at Jerusalem, some months before, the copy, made by an Arab, of a brick with a cuneiform inscription of respectable appearance. This brick, which I have every reason to believe authentic, had fallen, I know not by what chance, into the hands of the Bedouins beyond Jordan. I had, nevertheless, not succeeded in seeing the original. In any case, it was this brick that had partly served Martin Boulos as a model for the fabrication of his bilingual text. It is needless to add that this fresh attempt was not more successful than the preceding ones, and that the Moabitico-cuneiform inscription remained on his hands.

At the end of 1873, or at the beginning of 1874, during the mission confided to me by the Palestine Exploration Fund, I picked up a curious specimen of the industry of these Jerusalemite forgers. A certain Mr. Albengo accosted me one day in one of the streets of the Holy City, and taking me aside, offered me for sale a little intaglio, a red carnelian, if I recollect rightly, in the form of a truncated cone. On the widest side was engraved an inscription of four lines in Hebrew archaic characters of rather strange aspect, copied somewhat coarsely from those of the Moabite Stone. The inscription was reversed like those of the ancient Phœnician seals

intended to reproduce by impression the letters in a right sense. It could be read without difficulty, in spite of the intentional or accidental anomalies of several letters:—"The servant of Jehovah, David, King." The very own seal of King David! and that for the modest sum of ten francs! It was really given away. It is unnecessary to say that I did not avail myself of this tempting offer. I contented myself with taking an impression and a sketch of the object, of whose future fate I am quite ignorant. Perhaps it will reappear one day in the collection of some less sceptical amateur.

I now come to another series of forgeries. In 1874 I purchased from an Arab mason, as a curiosity, an inscription on limestone, alleged to have been found in the Wadi-Qaddoum, one of the little valleys on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. The inscription, glaringly false, is a hybrid mixture of square Hebrew and of Himyaritic or Sabaean characters. One must not be surprised beyond measure at this borrowing from the Himyaritic alphabet. The forgers had had at their disposal as early as 1870 authentic samples of it. For a certain Jew, named Aron Aorcias, had brought from Yemen a few Himyaritic monuments, among others a very beautiful stela with inscription and figures, which I have published formerly in the *Journal Asiatique*. This last circumstance may also help to explain the presence of letters belonging to the same alphabet of South Arabia in some of the inscriptions on the false Moabite pottery.

On the 4th October, 1874, some Arabs from Jerusalem, of whose names I am ignorant, brought me very mysteriously the cast of a pretended antique inscription. This cast was curiously enough moulded in dough. I feigned to be taken in, and I told them to show me the original, which they asserted to have taken away from I do not know where. The next night they came to my house most cautiously, like conspirators, and solemnly produced a white marble slab. Upon it was engraved, on a gigantic scale, a servile imitation of a Jewish shekel of the year 1, with its well-known Hebraic legend in archaic characters, "Shekel of Israel." Nothing was wanting, not even the vase called Manna vase, figuring always on the obverse of this type of shekel, in the centre of the circular legend. The letters are not too badly imitated. The shape of the slab seems to indicate that it had previously served as a casing wedge in an Arab arch. The stone smelt strongly of petroleum. I offered half-a-sovereign for it. This paltry sum was rejected with scorn, and the indignant fellows retired with their unappreciated *chef d'œuvre* to seek some more credulous amateur.

Why the forgers had fixed their choice upon this model of a shekel is easy to guess. Just about this time a great many silver shekels had been found in Palestine, piled up in a vase sealed with lead. These shekels had been brought to Jerusalem, and I had acquired a good number of them. It will be seen that the principle is always the same, the forgers take as a basis of operation authentic antiquities to which their attention is attracted by a recent discovery.

In 1874 I published a handsome crowned and bearded head of a statue,

picked up close to the sepulchres of the Kings at Jerusalem by some Arab workmen who were collecting stones for a building. I suggested to identify it with the head of the Emperor Hadrian, whose statue formerly figured in the Temple on the very site of the Holy of Holies. This information did not fall upon deaf ears, and the forgers lost no time in setting to work on this new *datum*.

Some time after they brought to a European residing at Jerusalem a head of a statue of hurried workmanship, in soft white limestone, that had been carefully blackened, pretending to look like basalt. The following inscription was engraved round the head :—

AVSVITVSHASPIANVS

It is easy to reconstitute the intended words, oddly mutilated—

AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS

I little expected, I must confess, this astonishing epigraphic confirmation of my conjectures. The author of this beautiful masterpiece was again the aforesaid indefatigable Martin Boulos.

In October, 1881, a large massive silver ring was offered to the Russian Archimandrite of Jerusalem. It measured 4 centimètres in diameter, and had a circular bezel of the same metal, upon which was engraved in a round, an inscription of a star with six rays, formed by two intersected triangles. On the centre of the bezel was represented a sort of vase on a foot, a cup or lamp, or rather a censer, suspended by a triple chain, and recalling singularly the censer that exists upon certain mediæval monuments of Palestine. The object, at least so it was asserted, had been found at Siloé. It was not without reason that this origin was attributed to it. Attention had just been drawn to this locality by the discovery of the well-known Hebrew archaic inscription of the acqueduct of Siloé. The ring had been secretly brought to the Archimandrite, and its immediate acquisition was urged, otherwise it was threatened to be offered elsewhere. The antiquity makers and vendors who are working in Jerusalem, are perfectly well acquainted with the rivalry existing between the Europeans living in this city on the subject of antiquities, and they know how to turn it to good account if occasion requires.

I was then Vice-Consul at Jaffa. The Archimandrite at once sent me impressions and a good drawing, requesting me to give him my opinion by telegraph. I had no trouble in convincing him that he had to deal with a shameless impostor, and the possessor was begged to take his merchandise elsewhere. The inscription, of whose apocryphalness there could be no possible doubt, seemed to me rather difficult to decipher. The characters appeared to have been partly borrowed from the alphabet of the Moabite Stone, and partly from that of the ancient shekels, or Jewish coins, of the period of the Maccabees. It began by the word "izk," seal—a word rare and even unknown, under this Hebrew form. It was visibly borrowed from the Chaldean text of Daniel (Dan. vi, 18), where it is said that Darius sealed with his seal the lion's den, into which the prophet had been thrown. Afterwards came, as it seemed, the name of Jairus. The remainder was hardly intelligible. I only recognised with certainty the word "Kahal,"

assembly. But such frauds are really not worth the trouble of seriously disputing the meaning intended by their often most ignorant authors. I shall merely point out that the maker of this pretended old Hebrew silver seal seems to have taken his first idea from the mediæval seals and bulls of the order of the Knights of St. John, of which he must have had some specimens at hand. The incenser engraved in the centre, the circular disposal of the legend, the star substituted for the cross, which, on the mediæval bulls, marks the beginning and the end of the inscription, are so many characteristics betraying the servile imitation of the model.

Among the few antiquities existing in the Greek convent of the Holy Cross, near Jerusalem, I noticed a Jewish ossuary, in every respect similar to those, tolerably numerous, collected by me in Palestine. It was a small box of soft limestone, on four feet. The front was ornamented, as usual, with roses, traced with a compass. The ossuary, perfectly authentic, came, it was said, from Mâlha, a short distance from Jerusalem. Upon the ornamental front was engraved, in two long lines, partly on the edge, partly on the side itself, a splendid Moabite inscription, perfectly false. I greatly astonished the possessors of the monument by revealing to them the fraud, which they did not in the least suspect. This time the system is different; we no longer have to deal, properly speaking, with a forgery, but with a falsification. I have taken a photograph of this Moabitised ossuary.

These few examples will suffice, I think, to show us under new aspects the activity of the Palestinian forgers, to whom we owe the production of the Moabite potteries, and of the Shapira manuscript. They prove to us that these two memorable mystifications are far from having been sole attempts; but that they form part and parcel of a series of systematic facts, which have preceded, accompanied, and followed them. The forgers, I repeat, have not said their last word. We may expect to see them renew the attack. The public is to-day amply edified, and we hope will receive them as they deserve. Such is the principal aim of this article, which is, so to speak, the epilogue of the history of the Shapira manuscript.

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.